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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2056



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SOVIET SS-21'S REPORTED IN GDR

Bonn DIE WELT in German 16 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by J.M. Svoboda, Kiel: "Soviets Move SS-21 Rockets Into the GDR"]

[Text] The "Group of Soviet Forces in Germany" (GSFG) has begun stationing the new short-ranged tactical SS-21 missiles in the GDR. The first confirmations of the introduction of such SS-21's in GDR territory are available from the area of Jena in Gera Bezirk, from the area of Ohrdruf, in Erfurt Bezirk, and from the area of Stendal in Magdeburg Bezirk.

The SS-21 replaces the FROG-7 missiles stationed up to now in the GDR. The latter could be deployed with conventional or nuclear warheads, and had a range of up to 70 kilometers.

By way of contrast, the SS-21 has a range of 100 to 120 kilometers, as well as greater accuracy. The SS-21 has a standardized warhead, which can be equipped not only with conventional but also nuclear and chemical warheads. Moreover, it has a modernized internal guidance system. It is transported on a six-wheel, lightly armored and amphibious vehicle.

A total of 124 mobile SS-21 launch pads are stationed in the GDR, from which several missiles can be fired one after the other to a greater degree than with the FROG-7. In spite of its size, the SS-21, together with accompanying vehicles (electronic guidance vehicles and replacement missiles) can be quickly transferred in large transport aircraft from distant parts of the Soviet Union to the Central European front.

CSO: 2300/396

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH-ROMANIAN YOUTH COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] Bucharest--On Friday, in Bucharest, the chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], Jerzy Jaskiernia, and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth [UTC] of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Minister for Youth Affairs Pantelimon Gavanescu, signed a cooperation agreement for 1982-83.

This cooperation will encompass, i.a., ideological-political activity, socialist labor competition, scientific, technical and cultural youth activity, and the participation of youth in the economic life of both countries. The youth organizations of Poland and Romania will exchange information, documents, publications, materials, and exhibitions dealing with these problems. The agreement also envisages the initiation of cooperation in the field of research on youth problems, tourist exchange, and exchange of youth periodicals.

On that same day, RCP Central Committee Secretary and Central Committee Political Executive Committee member Emil Bobu received the ZSMP Main Board delegation.

J. Jaskiernia also met with the UTC aktiv in Bucharest. The subject of this meeting was the tasks facing Polish youth in the current situation in Poland.

The ZSMP Main Board delegation, which visited Romania at the invitation of the UTC Central Committee, met with youth from the shipyard at Constanta and from the agricultural combine at Murfatlar, with builders of the Black Sea-Danube canal, and with the young work force of the FELIX Electrical Plants in Bucharest.

On 21 August, the final day of its stay in Romania, the Polish delegation met with UTC Central Committee Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu in connection with preparations for the international youth year.

CSO: 2600/902

LEADERS GREET VIETNAMESE COUNTERPARTS

AU011950 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the presidium of the people's assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; and Adil Carcani, chairman of the council of ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam; Comrade Truong Chinh, chairman of the state council of the SRV; and Comrade Pham Van Dong, chairman of the council of ministers of the SRV:

On the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the national holiday of the SRV, in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the presidium of the people's assembly and the council of ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as personally, we convey to you, and through you, to the Communist Party of Vietnam, the council of state and the council of ministers of the SRV greetings and cordial wishes.

During the past 37 years, the Vietnamese people have had to traverse a difficult road and make innumerable sacrifices in their just struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for the country's reunification and to defend the SRV against the enemies of its national freedom and independence.

The successes achieved by the Vietnamese people in their work to rebuild the country and for its continuous development give joy to the Albanian people, and we wish your people new victories in the work for the country's continuous progress and prosperity, and may the friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries develop and be strengthened increasingly more.

CSO: 2100/82

UNITED EFFORT NEEDED TO IMPROVE SCHOOLS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Apr 82 pp 53-63

[Article by Sotir Temo and Kozma Skarco: "A United Front to Raise Education in the Schools to Contemporary Levels"]

[Text] In implementing the directives of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to continually revolutionize our educational system it has become possible for our schools, with the help of the contributions made by all our society, to produce whole contingents of students with good all-round educations; better trained ideologically and more capable professionally. Nevertheless, the party believes that due to the "intense development of our economy and culture, the increased and continued use of advanced techniques and technology, the tasks that are presented for better quality and higher yields, for greater profits and more efficiency in production the perspectives for the future development of our country require further increases in our cultural and educational levels, and the mastery by our people of modern science and technology" (Enver Hoxha "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party" (PPSH) p 130).

To achieve this new level we must depend on broader, more skilled and more responsible activity from all those sectors of our society which are interested in further increasing the knowledge and capabilities of the high and middle level cadres our schools are preparing.

Our society, as a community of interests, needs and tasks, revolutionary activities and actions has always contributed to the success of our public schools and our education. Every link, organ and organization of our society, according to its capabilities, tasks and abilities has influenced and contributed to implementing the party program for the continually revolutionization of our educational system. Specific tasks in this area have been realized, not only by the specialized educational organizations but also by the state and economic organs, the mass organizations and our socialist families who provide the schools with new contingents of pupils and students and closely follow their progress. While the problems of the schools are identical to those of our society, and the needs of our society are identical to those of the schools, it becomes evident that every narrow and biased attitude, every inclination to be dependent on others, or to leave the responsibility to others is wrong and harmful. The schools realize their own goals when they recognize and fulfill the present and future needs of society, and society rightly supports the

schools when it is familiar with the factors which define the necessary levels needed to prepare skilled workers, specialists and cadres, and the tasks which the schools have to face to assure these factors.

In the social division of labor, society has delegated the biggest and most important tasks in this area to the schools. This important source of learning, culture, knowledge and science has always had important material bases and a powerful army of specialized cadres, who have always been nearby and always supported the schools in all their activities. It is for this reason that even in achieving the tasks for the educational system laid down by the Eighth Party Congress, the first and most important tasks belong to the schools, the educational and pedagogical collectives, the scientific and pedagogical institutions, and to all the others levers of the party that are active in the school system.

Under the present conditions of building socialism entirely with our own forces, and within those broad parameters of qualitative development which our culture and economy are achieving, the tasks of the schools to prepare capable people with profound contemporary knowledge take on important new significance and values. Today, more than ever before, it is necessary "that all the efforts of our educational and pedagogical front be seriously and carefully concentrated on raising the quality of work in the schools" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH," p 132).

The level of achievement of this requirement depends very much on the depth and manner in which this task is perceived. Our schools will realize the new necessary qualitative levels more easily and more quickly when the workers in all categories view these necessary levels not just as a dictum created specifically by the internal developments of our education, such as happens in other areas of activity in our society, but as a new level of achievement that has to be primarily defined by the overall economic, social, scientific and technical development in all the country. This broad and profound concept will encourage the schools to concentrate on their work and demand more help and cooperation from the other links of our society which are directly involved with these economic, social, scientific and technical developments.

The schools, by examining and realizing their tasks in conjunction with the development of our society as a whole, will equip the new generation with knowledge that is contemporary and modern. Because of the rapid development of science and the short period of time between a scientific discovery and its implementation, the party has given the schools the task of allowing more space in their school books and programs for new scientific information, and this should not be done by just entering the information mechanically, but by making changes in the conceptual apparatus and rearranging the information into more compact and universal structures which will increase its specific weight and considerably broaden the field of its implementation.

This requirement was presented to the schools a long time ago. There have been a number of successes in this direction, but, there have also been instances of reluctance, misconception and defective work. And, regardless of the fact that the need to have programs and texts updated and enriched, according to contemporary demands, has been made clear, the conviction has yet to be created in everyone that this task cannot be achieved at the required level "by grafting

and patching the new over the old." Traditionalism when faced with basic scientific disciplines can be overcome "on the basis of a complete and unique concept which stretches over all the years of schooling, especially in the massive links of our educational system." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH," p 133.)

The more organized work that was started in this field after the Eighth Plenum of the Party's Central Committee, which took on a new momentum after the Eighth Party Congress, is producing its own results, and must progress even further. For example, the conclusions of study groups set up for different subject categories, from grade one to grade twelve, are of value, but, it is necessary to include the results of these studies in programs and texts, otherwise, these and similar ideas, such as those that were recently presented at the open discussion organized with the schools, as well as the exchange of ideas that is still taking place in the press, on radio and on television will not be beneficial.

The experience of the best schools, the best teachers and the best educators shows that the overall strengthening of qualitative controls, raising the level of scientific work, increasing processes depends very much on the level of the effort made by teachers and educators to radically improve teaching methods. Without this improvement the growth of the extent of and a lasting action assimilation of knowledge cannot be achieved and a creative thought cannot stimulate on the required level, so that expressions of independent work on the part of the pupils and students, even in the classroom will be encouraged.

In this area our schools have had numerous successes, however, there still remains much to do, to correct and to improve. Among the problems which require the attention of the educational organs is the conscientious study, on a scientific basis, of the student's assignments, which, at the present time appear to be excessive, negatively influencing their formation. A decrease in assignment must not be considered by the program and textbook planners as a decrease in the amount of scientific information which the students require. In dealing with different ages and different disciplines it is necessary for the planners, among other things, to keep in mind the information the students assimilate through other channels of our society. They must also be aware of the perceptive capacity of the different ages and avoid assigning material that cannot be assimilated at certain stages. For this reason, the party has insisted that special care be given to developing these disciplines on a different level, with proper ideological character, since, at present, a certain uniform development, without the necessary differentiation by group and age, can be noted.

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee and the Eighth Congress of the Party have set down responsible tasks for the vocational middle and high schools. In implementing these tasks, which are important objects of discussion, our educational system is going through the process of the consolidation of its important revolutionary changes. The development of our country in this five-year period and afterwards, will, without doubt, bring forth now and in the future new problems for schools in this category, where the whole work for the preparation of skilled workers, specialists, middle and higher cadres is concentrated.

Teachers and educators play an important role in the execution of all the tasks which confront our schools today. The proper concept of the role of the teacher and the educator helps, not only to avoid instances of formality in evaluating their work, but, especially, to take concrete steps to make every teacher and educator more capable of responding to the demands which our schools face today.

Naturally, within this framework the question arises of what is being done and what needs to be done to raise the ideological, political and professional level of the teachers and educators. Any incompatibilities that exist today in some schools between the unacceptable level of a teacher's competency and the demands of the subjects and classes where he teaches, necessarily draws our attention to the need to increase interest in and efforts to overcome this situation.

This interest needs to be made concrete and placed on sound organizational foundations for all forms and levels of training. If in high form of training organized work has begun, and is being pursued with interest by the responsible educational institutions and by the cadres themselves, in training for the masses there are still a number of deficiencies in the work of the educational organs which manage this kind of training.

In practice we notice that while good work is being done in general for the continuing Marxist-Leninist education of the teachers and educators, their scientific and pedagogical training are not always up to the desired level. Those expressions of formalism, liberalism and uniformity, which are noticed in this field of training, are explained by the fact that the training system is not always based on sound organizational foundations. One cannot claim to be carrying on organized, qualitative and monitored work just by organizing or authorizing a seminar, now and then, for the benefit of this or that institution or cadre. When, for example, the pedagogical departments are made responsible for the training of teachers in the lower grades the problem must [be] viewed and resolved in all aspects including the organizational structure and the cadres that are needed to make this structure work, otherwise the expected results will not be forthcoming. The time has come to organize regular courses, with approved programs, in addition to the seminars that are being given at the regional and district levels. In these courses, special attention must be given to the training of the masses of teachers, to the specialized cadres in the middle schools, to the management cadres of the 8-year schools and middle schools, to the planners in the pedagogical departments, as well as to the workers in the educational and cultural sections in the districts.

The continuing training of the tens of thousands of teachers who are active in our school and education is a necessity of the times. That qualitative leap which is required of our schools will be achieved only with the preparation of higher level programs, which will be analyzed by means of the most valuable contemporary texts. However, while correctly evaluating the role of programs and texts, we must realize that the decisive factor remains the work of the teachers who will use this scientific documentation. Therefore, if we do not continually increase the capabilities of teachers and educators we cannot achieve the objective that the party has set for our schools.

As the Eighth Congress of the Party stressed, the training of the masses of teachers, educators and all the workers in the educational sector is understood to mean that an improvement in the education system dictates the need for perfecting and further revolutionizing the style and method of management of all the education organs, from the school principals to the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Among the levers and organizations which can and must strongly influence the progress of our schools are the central departments and the other state organs in the districts and in the grassroots. Directly concerned with the educational level of the workers, specialists and cadres who are being trained by our middle and high schools, are some of the state organs who make an effort to concentrate on the schools that train the cadres in their fields. In this monitoring process they have formed their own opinion in regard to the qualitative level of the work that is being done for the assimilation of ideas by the students.

Today, more than yesterday, the party requires, first of all, that the state organs at headquarters and in the districts not confine themselves only to their role as "quality controllers," evaluating the schools on the basis of the level of skilled workers, specialists and cadres the schools prepare, but to help where they can and where they must to raise this qualitative level even further. Secondly, they must not consider the cooperation they are required to establish with the middle schools and high schools, as well as the Ministry of Education and Culture, who manage these schools, as a request for help which has to be given "to a third party," but as a collaboration of great value for the present and the future of their district or sector.

The Eighth Party Congress, correctly evaluating the role of this collaboration, defined concrete objectives which have to be realized through this collaboration.

The Party values a new increase in the qualitative level of the schools, capable of responding to the present and future development of all the life in our country, as much as it values the improvements in the method and style of the management work of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the other organizations specializing in education; and as much as it values the solutions of problems on more skilled scientific bases; cooperation between this ministry and the other ministries and institutions, "must get more involved in preparing cadres and intermediate and high level specialists in order to correctly define the requirements for manpower with specific skills, and must seriously engage themselves in drafting plans, programs and school texts; they must be concerned with the better organization of work in production and the on the job training of pupils and students." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH" p 138.)

What is the level of interest and cooperation in this area and, after that, what needs to be corrected and improved?

The schools and the Ministry of Education, no matter how closely they follow the pulse of life, cannot know or follow with the same keenness and farsightedness the present and future of a sector as do the managers and ministerial branches involved in that sector. What is more, the schools and the Ministry

of Education need their help and ideas to correctly define, not only the number and specialties of middle level and high level cadres which are required for their particular sectors, but also to define the ability levels of these cadres in accordance with the expansion of the socialist production and the specialization of each one of its branches.

In this field of cooperation one must guard against a department's superficial demands for new specialties and branches without considering the actual conditions and capabilities of our country, where parallel to the specializations, sometimes rather narrow, the schools have to prepare cadres with wide horizons capable of maneuvering within similar specialties and branches.

It would be a heavy burden on our economy if we were to consider the possibility of preparing economists specializing in every branch of our industry, or merchandizing specialists for every sector of commerce, just as, it would be harmful to our economy if the schools would not keep pace with the qualitative development of our economy, and would not respond to this development by preparing cadres for the new direction it has taken.

While keeping in mind the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha that today's youth, whose education is forever becoming more solid, is, and will continue to be in the future, a leading force in realizing the technical and scientific revolution, the government departments are required to continue with consistency the process of preparing cadres and specialists, and to help, even more, in drafting correct, contemporary plans, programs and texts.

To fulfill during this 5-year period the party's program to intensify the development of the 100,000 hectares of cultivated coastal plains requires, among other things, the establishment in this area of new technological methods in plant cultivation and animal husbandry. A technology which will be defined, followed and assimilated by skilled workers and the middle and high level cadres with agricultural skills that our schools are preparing. Under these conditions, it is right for the Ministry of Agriculture to think about helping these schools to raise the training standards of the specialists and cadres they are preparing to meet the level of the tasks with which our agriculture is faced today, and for the future; to help prepare suitable texts and programs and more suitable relationships between subjects and the theory and practice within each subject. The weaknesses which are currently evident in the work of some agricultural schools, especially in schools the workers attend after working hours, where the middle level cadres prepared by these schools do not properly fulfill the requirements of today's modern production methods, must impel the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Education and Culture to examine closely the suitability of the programs and texts which are used in these schools, and see what has to be done to assimilate them in the best possible way.

The correct awareness on the part of every government department of the need to help the schools raise the level of knowledge of the middle and higher cadres they are preparing influences positively the whole pyramid they cover.

Because the party is asking that during this 5-year period we focus our attention more on raising the qualitative level of the work that is being done in

the vocational middle schools, it is necessary to have the help from the state economic organs, headquarters, the districts and the grassroots directed more towards these schools, assisting them, especially the night schools connected with work, so that we can assure that the planned contingent of students have regular school attendance, and that capable cadres are assigned to these schools. A better evaluation of the role of the vocational middle schools, where skilled workers and middle level cadres are prepared for different sectors of the economy and culture, will prevent the mistaken practice, which is sometimes noticed in some districts, where the vocational schools allow students, who cannot justify their poor work in production, or in any other cultural and social sector, to become instructors.

The interest the party and government organs in Vlore, Korce, Fier and other districts have shown in the progress of students in schools of this category, an interest, which among other things, is expressed in the selection of the most able cadres to teach in these schools, testifies to the correct understanding of the fact that every teaching cadre prepares, at his own level, a relatively large number of future specialists. Thus "denying" the school a capable cadre today means to accept the fact that, tomorrow, many young cadres will perform badly.

What is required of the schools today is a noticeable qualitative growth in all its activity and all its components. More is also required in further strengthening the connections between instruction and production, not only to increase the educational values of this connection, but also for the better integration of education with today's modern science and production.

The ways to achieve this objective and the areas of cooperation between the schools and the other links and organizations of our education are broad and numerous.

In order to enlarge their field of implementation the schools must have the necessary classrooms, teaching laboratories, experimental plots and production bases; they must have broad production fronts where students can produce and practice what they learn in class etc. It is obvious, at this time, that the schools cannot assure their material needs by their own forces and by their own financial resources. Such a requirement would lay a heavy burden on the economy of the country, especially, since it is well known that much of the teaching supplies and the laboratory equipment comes from imports. The solution to this problem requires, besides producing domestically as much of the teaching equipment and teaching tools as possible, good understanding and cooperation so the schools can utilize the laboratories and experimental centers of the economic enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives and the scientific-research institutions.

If the middle vocational schools in the districts of Berat, Sarande, Diber, Lezhe and Durres are able to successfully link teaching to practical experience and life, it is due to the fact that the schools in these districts, besides using materials which they produce themselves, have at their disposal the laboratory facilities of the scientific institutions and the experimental plots of the agricultural cooperatives. They make every effort to do accurate scientific work and undertake to solve some technological problems with economic benefits. The joint initiative undertaken recently by the trade union organizations in

the schools and in the production and work centers to jointly establish learning laboratories in the schools concerned with work, will radically improve the material bases and the teaching and educational process, it will also present another alternative which should be known and generalized.

The support the schools demand from our public opinion does not have only a material character. Public opinion visibly and invisibly influences all the dimensions of work in the schools. It is becoming more and more aware that in order to equip our students with deep and solid contemporary knowledge "it is very important to instill in the youth in our schools healthy motives of education based on revolutionary ideals." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the PPSH," p 137.)

The healthy motives of teaching, based on revolutionary ideals are cultivated by the family and the social organizations through the influence they exert over pupils and students, and over teachers and educators, as well. The care the family takes to create for our youth the best possible conditions for learning and study, the contact it has with the schools to enable it to follow the student's progress and the assistance which it gives to the students encouraging them to assimilate knowledge as well as possible and to apply it in the service of the fatherland, where and when it is needed, are characteristic of our socialist society. Nevertheless, the party and its levers in the grassroots and in the districts must exert more influence to protect the schools from certain negative pressures which are imposed upon them and which, if they are not combatted, will affect its very substance and its highest goals.

Today, when the most important task is to equip the students with deep and solid contemporary knowledge, the schools must be protected from the strong pressures that are brought to bear upon them by some parents and relatives to inflate the grades of the pupils, and less frequently, the students. This pressure very often begins in the first grade and continues until the diploma has been awarded. In some instances these petit-bourgeois attitudes lead to parent-teacher meetings which become in some cases, on the part of the parents, arguments about their children's grades.

As a result of this pressure, which is not resisted very often, in recent years there has been an increase in the awarding of "10's." The fact is that in the first years of high school these inflated "10's" appear in 1-3 subjects, whereas, in the middle schools the "10's" appear in all the subjects. This problem is most prevalent and most alarming for the children in the districts of Lushnje, Elbasan, Kukes, Librazhd, Tirana and Durres.

In order to successfully counter this pressure, the basic party organizations in the schools, the districts, the villages as well as the party committees in the districts, besides enlightening the parents and explaining to them the motives which guide the formative and educational work of the schools, must enhance and protect the reputation of our teachers and educators. They should not consider this task as a matter which concerns only the pedagogical councils and the educational and cultural sections in the districts.

Pupils and students imagine the schools to be as they are in reality, institutions of absolute fairness; the teachers and educators as the most honest of judges. When a teacher submits to pressures from a parent, he subjectively evaluates the work of a pupil or student. When this happens the image of the teacher and his moral and ethnical standing is shaken in the eyes of the pupils and students. This loss of confidence has negative effects on the learning process and on the children and youth.

The party must stay closer to the schools to solve the problem of evaluating pupils on the basis of averaging the grades, that is to say that, with this rational distribution of efforts and energies, a pupil or student who fights to get as good grades as possible in all subjects has no outlet for his aptitudes and talents. Under these conditions, while respecting, in general, the rules that have been defined, the teachers and the schools must encourage the pupils who show talent and have special skills and recommend that they study in those fields towards which their talents are inclined, and look with flexibility on the evaluations that are made on subjects which are far from the area of their aptitudes.

This differentiated evaluation of pupils and students with special skills should also apply to those who have diplomas. The criteria defined by the party that the best students with sound and lasting knowledge, with special skills and talents should be assigned the most important positions, where they can contribute the most, will be respected even more when the ideas of the schools are also taken into consideration.

The party and all its levers must devote continued interest and careful attention to these and a number of other problems which are awaiting a solution from our schools. Periodic observations encourage periodic studies which produce conclusions for continued improvement in the work of the schools and its level, for keeping alive a strong healthy public opinion and for a correct evaluation of the work of the teachers and of the schools, in general. These periodic analyses will help the party see the measure of the activity of its levers in this important molding and educational front, particularly the activity of the youth organizations and the trade union organizations where teachers and educators, as well as the students who go to schools connected with and not connected with work, are involved.

As it was emphasized at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth which met in January of this year, the youth organizations are required to improve and modify their educational work in order to create in the students the healthy convictions that the school period is a period of intensive work to assimilate deep and lasting knowledge. The success of this formative work greatly depends on whether these organizations are capable of recognizing and combatting the petit-bourgeois attitude of running after grades and diplomas which are noticed among certain members.

These attitudes which are encountered in youth organizations that are lukewarm in their commitment sometimes influence wide circles of pupils and students. It is for this reason that in some middle schools those that try hardest to learn are usually those who want to continue in higher education. Even in this

category of pupils efforts are not made in all the subjects for all 4 years, but rather in the 4th year and in the subjects in which they need a final grade. High school students who in middle school study to maintain an average which will allow them to move on to higher education, "relax" during the first and 2d years once they have reached their objective. This becomes apparent in generally low grade averages and in sometimes high percentages of repeat and failed tests.

All these young people are members of the Union of Albanian Working Youth and had they submitted to the criticism of their own organizations in the middle schools "Ali Demi" in Vlore, "Dashkal Todri" in Elbasan, "Demir Progri" in Korce, the forestry middle school in Shkoder and others, in order to make their educational work more lasting and effective, for the revolutionary motives which should guide our youth during the schools years, differentiate in their work with the organizations and the students, in regard to subjects in which the level of learning is not pleasing.

Generally adopting these and other such examples in our country will help to turn education for the new generation into a criterion of devotion to socialism. It will create an atmosphere of isolation for those who, after middle school, try to find an easy job, sometimes outside the area of the specialty for which they were trained, as has happened recently among the young men and women graduates of the construction school in Tirana.

Under conditions when a good number of our workers are educated in and graduated from schools connected with work, the trade union organizations in work and production centers need to devote more care and attention to creating and instilling in the workers healthy revolutionary motivations. There are vocational middle schools connected with the job, such as the "50th anniversary" middle school at the "Stalin" textile plant in Tirana, where the school and the combine's trade union organizations show constant concern for the progress of the working students. Several trade union organizations in different areas of the country follow, step by step, the level of educational progress made by the students. They keep close ties with the schools and participate in the educational council meetings of the schools where conditions and the levels of learning are analyzed. They help the schools by providing educational aids and invite the teachers to their own meetings when school matters are discussed.

However, this is not the case everywhere. There are enterprises, work and production centers where the trade union organizations, as well as the enterprise managers, are not as concerned as they should be about the schools. Furthermore, at times, they prevent the worker's regular attendance at school under the pretext of the need to fulfill the plan. This is one of the reasons that in many night schools the level of learning of a good number of students is low, their attendance is poor and there is a lack of concentration on mastering the programs well.

The task of the basic party organs and organizations, besides strengthening the work of the schools, in that broad and varied work that is being done in our country to increase the role of public opinion in the progress of the schools, is to exert influence even more to deepen the convictions of the students, their parents, the youth organizations, the trade unions and the state and economic

organs that socialism requires culture and profound scientific knowledge, and it is on this basis that the work of the students, the teachers and the schools, as a whole, should be evaluated.

Keeping this revolutionary motivation in mind will help the students, the teachers and educators, the state and economic organs, the mass organizations and the families to be more realistic in judging the work of the schools, so they will not be satisfied with the percentage numbers and grades that are given in report cards and diplomas, but will measure the effectiveness of everyone's work by the student's capacity to learn, and by the measure of influence the knowledge gained in school will have on the progress of their work when they go out in life.

6160

CSO: 2100/73

INCREASING ALCOHOLISM CRITICIZED

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 24 Aug 82 p 7

[Article by Dr. Alojz Kocinger: "From Bad Habit to Addiction"]

[Text] The World Health Organization warns that statistics show that 2-5 percent of the European population suffers from alcoholism. In the CSSR it is estimated that there are 400,000 alcoholics, of whom at least one third are in Slovakia. Formally, about 60,000 alcoholics are registered in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR]. The treatment of one individual costs about Kcs 55,000 and the cure is not always successful. Kcs 5.5 billion are being expended on this problem. The cost of health insurance and incapacitation stemming from alcoholism represents about Kcs 8 billion annually. The World Health Organization further warns that there is a steady upward trend in the production of and spending on alcoholic beverages. Between 1960 and 1972, these have risen by 60-80 percent and considerably more since, as much as 100 percent more in some countries.

Slovakia leads world consumers of pure alcohol with an annual per capita consumption of about 12 liters. Since 1978, about Kcs 11 billion were spent on alcoholic beverage, a sum representing 15-25 percent of a total family budget.

According to domestic trade figures, while there was a temporary drop following the price adjustment of 1979, sales have been rising steadily since.

Damage Caused by Alcohol

About 250,000 people in the SSR suffer from diseases directly or indirectly caused by alcohol. In about 20 percent of our citizens drinking has become habitual, making them potential candidates for alcoholism.

In citing the cost of damage caused by alcohol, we must include the great number of patients treated for ailments of the liver, the nervous system, brain disorder, as well as traffic accidents causing enormous material losses and often costing human lives (on a global scale, about 250,000 people die each year as a result of injury in automobile accidents). Impossible to express statistically is the moral damage, human disintegration, family, relations among people and poor performance at work.

In 1981, 12,671 individuals in the SSR committed a criminal act while under the influence of alcohol. Of the 23,370 automobile accidents, 1,844 (7.9 percent) were caused by alcohol. 517 people (16.6 percent) lost their lives in alcohol-induced accidents.

The facts are staggering, yet people go on drinking. What are the reasons for this? This is a question asked by psychologists, educators, physicians, sociologists, as well as public officials.

Considering this problem in historical terms, we must admit that humans have been resorting to drugs since the dawn of their existence, in certain mystical rites and as part of various celebrations. It would appear that the objective then was the same as today, i.e., escape from reality or an effort to reach for an unknown deity one fears.

Scientific probes (LUDNY 1976) examined the physiological and conditional determinants of habitual drinking with the following results: 93 percent of people drink when they are depressed; 90 percent when they are nervous; 88 percent do so when angry; 77 percent when they are not feeling well; 77 percent when under stress; 72 percent following failure at work or other activity; 35 percent when they achieve success; 30 percent when they are happy; 23 percent when they feel well; 18 percent when they are relaxed.

Persons dependent on alcohol reported during interviews that they drink only in the above-mentioned situations. Most remained habitual drinkers, we do not know how many of them eventually became alcoholics.

Inbred or Acquired Dispositions

The causes of alcoholism, however, go deeper than that. We must consider the inbred or acquired dispositions, i.e., a diseased psychophysical structure. Weak-willed, unbalanced and mentally unstable types of people are more predisposed toward alcoholism than are others.

Societal and social pressures, all the way to social disease, uncertainty, hopelessness--these are the factors which currently contribute to the fact that people, even the young, very young, children and pregnant women resort to alcohol as their only--though fictitious--salvation.

Contributing factors include ready accessibility to alcohol, indulgent attitude of society, and negative influences of family, friends and society.

The causes of alcoholism in capitalist society can, in our view, be simply stated. They are unemployment, especially among the young, hopelessness, "freedom" to think and act, to terrorize and murder.

Determining the causes of alcoholism in our country and in the other socialist states is more difficult. For now, there is no unemployment, the young people have reason to look forward to the future, and the development of all types of spiritual, physical and cultural activity is receiving full support. There is no need to fear the future which for every honest worker is guaranteed economically, as well as in terms of health care. Yet, despite all this, our people drink and drink no less than those living under capitalism. The problem probably has a number of common global and human denominators which are obviously rooted in the essence of man and society (inbred characteristics).

Alcoholism in its broadest context is a part of the social, moral and economic problems of society in which it appears as a pathological manifestation. Alcoholism represents both a question mark and an exclamation mark.

With respect to the individual--whether innately or in a predetermined manner--alcoholic intake is caused by a false impression that it enhances waning human energy or that it helps overcome otherwise seemingly insurmountable obstacles. It is the most frequent road of fictitious self-realization and achievement, while in effect it is only an escape route from reality which often appears harsh and hopeless.

Band-Aid for Pain

Alcohol usually serves as a band-aid for mental or physical discomfort. One of the most serious causes of heavy drinking is an individual's inability to find a deeper sense of his life and his place in society. The reasons for the rest both with the individual and with society which, while prosperous and powerful, cannot fulfill the often imaginary but other times quite realistic basic rights and needs of the individual.

First Encounter with Alcohol

Where and how are we to combat alcohol and alcoholism?

The campaign against this fashionable drug must be initiated from childhood primarily in the family which is responsible for the early experiences with alcohol to which a child is exposed. We found an example in the pupils of a Basic Nine-Year School, whose record of regular alcohol consumption was as follows: boys 10.8 percent, girls in the 7th grade 3.2 percent. 50 percent of the parents were aware of this fact. Among 5,000 minors in Bratislava, 47 percent of the boys and 17 percent of the girls have already experienced the state of intoxication. On the average, children get acquainted with beer at the age of 10, wine at 11, and hard liquor at 12.

During a lecture at a nine-year school, I asked the 9-11 year old pupils which ones have not yet tasted alcohol. Of 70 children there were 4, 3 girls and 1 boy.

Erroneous upbringing of children causes them to escape into groups and "partying." As many as 80 percent of them began drinking in a group of peers, where 86 percent of them experienced their first state of intoxication.

The problem of alcoholism and other drug addiction is a global one and its resolution requires, first of all, correct handling in the family, stable relations at home, and much more intensive influence of the school in this area.

The struggle against alcoholism must encompass an entire complex of measures related to moral and political education of people, to social and private life, to economic problems of society and the individual, along with the assurance of personal and collective security and certainty. Last but not least, the struggle against alcoholism must be reflected in the respective cost of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages.

It is incomprehensible that on hot summer days one often cannot find any non-alcoholic drinks or even beer in our retail outlets, while the shelves are full of wine and hard liquor bottles of every possible kind and price.

A socialist society should be able to find ways and means of regulating alcohol consumption, paralyzing its noxious effects and the consequences of heavy drinking. For in real terms, the struggle against alcoholism is a struggle for the security of society and the individual, for social and personal certainty.

9496

CSO: 2400/350

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PETITION, FATE OF TWO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS REPORTED

Text of Petition

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 2 Jul 82 p 4

['Nachrichten' (News) feature article: "Quoted Verbatim: 'No Soldiers--No War'"]

[Text] The young sculptor Michael Blumhagen lived and worked in a village near Jena. Because GDR authorities had not yet granted a license to the self-taught sculptor to try making a living at selling his own works, the 23-year-old also worked 2 days a week in a nursery. Like Lutz Leibner, his friend and fellow artist, he was intensely involved in the subject of peace. Both of them refused to serve as reservists in the GDR People's Army because they feel: "If we are for peace and also use this subject in our art, we cannot simultaneously be reservists, crawling over battlefields and practicing war." Since such a refusal calls for imprisonment, Michael Blumhagen turned at the beginning of June to the writer Stefan Heym (with a reference to his role in the European Writers' Conferences in Berlin and The Hague) and also sent a petition to the GDR Peace Council. The petition reads as follows:

To the President
of the GDR Peace Council
Prof Dr G. Drefahl
1080 Berlin/GDR
Zetkinstrasse 103

Re: Petition

In December 1980 (6 months after completing my active duty) I sent a letter to the director of the military district command which contained the following information:

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that I will refuse to carry arms for the remaining period of my compulsory military duty as a reservist. It is no longer compatible with my conscience and my judgment to contribute personally to a worldwide hysterical arms buildup. It is my opinion that wars--and all military disputes in general--are senseless. None of the economic,

political and ideological differences of opinion that exist in the world can be settled through wars. Should it be possible--against all human reason--that a military dispute will break out in Central Europe between the blocs of different social orders, it will inevitably spread since limited spheres of interests do no longer exist in the world. Nobody will emerge as a victor from this dispute. I do not want to be among the survivors.

As far as I am concerned, all these aspects lead to the following conclusion: Unless there are soldiers who are operating cannons, there cannot be a war either. I hope that there will be a time when people in East and West will act in accordance with their convictions. Only we ourselves--as human beings--can bring about a change in our misery. Maybe, we will then be able to concern ourselves with urgent questions of survival.

During several discussions with the director of the military district command, I was informed of the possible consequences of my decision. He told me that according to current GDR laws, there was no possibility of refusing to bear arms after completing active duty. Accordingly, in case I should be drafted again to serve the National People's Army, the only choice I have is to face the military courts or to rescind my decision. Since I do not consider these two alternatives adequate, I decided in May 1980 to apply for my removal from GDR citizenship.

On 3 June I received a draft notice to report on 15 June. I refused to accept the draft notice and referred the military district command to my letter of 3 December 1980. Now I will have to be prepared to be arrested on 15 June 1982 and appear before the military court.

I am appealing to the GDR Peace Council, because in my opinion it is the appropriate and competent agency that can help young people in this country to live according to their conscience, particularly during these months when force seems to have the upper hand (see the conflict between Great Britain and Argentina and the war in Lebanon). I would like to ask you to do whatever you can and prevail on the appropriate agencies of the National People's Army to permit me to fulfill my reserve duty as a construction soldier.

Respectfully, M. Blumhagen

FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU Comment

The letters proved to be in vain. While Leibner was able to move to West Berlin last weekend, Michael Blumhagen has been in a GDR prison since 15 June.

Regime's Reaction

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 6 Aug 82 p 3

[Article datelined "Berlin/GDR, 5 August" by Helmut Loelhoeffel, member, editorial board, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: "GDR: The Circle of Friends from Jena--Scenes From an Action by the Regime--How the East Berlin Authorities Reacted to Young People's Expression of Sympathy for a Prisoner Who Died in Jail"]

[Text] First a memorial stone disappeared from a cemetery. Then the creator of the meter-high figure disappeared behind prison walls. And finally his residence disappeared. The fate of the sculpture, the arrest of the young man and the demolition of his house belong to a chain of events, the peculiar accompanying circumstances of which have not yet been completely unraveled. Everything that has become known to date in and around Jena is casting a light on the peculiar customs of insecure GDR State Security authorities.

It began on 10 April 1981. Two young men from Jena were traveling by train to the birthday celebration of a friend in East Berlin. But when they were halfway, they were snatched from their compartment by the transportation police--"for the clarification of a certain matter"--they were taken to Gera, where they were placed in a pretrial prison and questioned for 48 hours by members of the State Security Service. One of them, who is now living in West Berlin, was released on the third day. But the other one, Matthias Domaschk, was dead. His parents--both of whom are members of the SED and the son had had disagreements with them--were informed that the 23-year-old had hanged himself in his cell with his own shirt.

Matthias Domaschk, his nickname was "Matz," was a member of a fairly large clique of young people in Jena, who are looking for communication outside of state organizations; they are making music, exchanging literature in demand, experimenting with alternative lifestyles and considering themselves a part of the GDR peace movement." The people from the "scene in Jena"--as they would be called in the West--meet in taverns, in congregational meeting halls of churches or in apartments to debate, to exchange news and learn from one another. Some members of the circle of friends do not believe the suicide version, because "Matz" had told them about his future plans and his intentions to get married. There are others, however, who claimed they know that the sensitive Matthias Domaschk had announced his suicide in case he would be arrested. There is no way to reconstruct what actually happened in the cell of Gera. At any rate, Domaschk's death remained a constant topic of conversation, at least among the 200 young people who met on 16 April 1982 at 8 o'clock in the morning on Jena's north cemetery, although the date of the funeral had been kept a secret until the night before.

An occasional meeting place of these youths was an old farmhouse in Graitschen, 10 kilometers east of the city. It was the residence of Michael Blumhagen, son of the director-general of music in Jena. According to statements by acquaintances, he was not a conspicuous member of the "scene." He lived in seclusion, gave the appearance of an eccentric, was a self-taught sculptor and made lithographs and linocuts. He portrayed nature or people; only rarely he

tackled political subjects. To earn a living, he worked as a stoker in the winter and in a nursery during the summer. Four years ago Blumhagen had completed his military service in the National People's Army. Subsequently he informed the military district command that because of his experiences he would refuse to bear arms in the future and take part in military exercises. When the legal situation in the GDR was explained to him, according to which it is impossible to grant his request, he applied for his "removal from GDR citizenship," in other words, emigration to the West.

In April 1982, the cases of Domaschk and Blumhagen were linked together. Preceding the first anniversary of Domaschk's death, his friends had become active. They placed approximately 50 different advertisements in local newspapers that read something like, "We remember our friend Matthias Domaschk" or "Matz, we are thinking of you." They were also printed in the VOLKSWACHT, the SED paper of the Gera district; during the night hundreds of cut-out advertisements were pasted on display cases and lampposts. But in the morning they had already been removed. Flowers that were placed on Domaschk's grave were removed just as quickly again and again.

On 9 April Blumhagen, aided by a few friends, placed in Jena's Johannes cemetery a stone sculpture he had created--depicting a crouching figure in mourning. Matthias Domaschk's name was engraved on the pedestal and also the dates of his birthday and his death. The competent pastor, however, called attention to the fact that "the unauthorized placement of memorial stones in the cemetery" was "illegal." Blumhagen prepared the removal of the figure. But the authorities were faster. On the same day a dark vehicle, a Lada model with trailer, drove up and the 4-centner mourning sculpture was removed. Friends from the "scene" photographed this lightning action.

A mysterious series of events followed. For one month the memorial stone was kept in the coffin storeroom of the city's cemetery administration. During the night of 15 May, however, there was a break-in and the sculpture disappeared. Blumhagen's search was without success; instead the police accused the sculptor of stealing his own work. Soon, however, the investigation was halted and Blumhagen was subjected to new chicaneries. Unexpectedly he received a short notice to report for reserve military service on 15 June. Not only the date was unusual but also the fact that Blumhagen was called by the Army although he had announced his refusal to serve and applied for emigration. Consequently the suspicion that was voiced by friends may not be far from the truth, according to which the authorities had been looking for a violation of a law to catch the undesirable citizen and they had been unsuccessful until that date. Blumhagen himself was "convinced," according to his requests for help directed to GDR politicians and artists, that this confrontation had been planned deliberately. He did not begin his reserve duty, but the next day he reported to the police and was arrested. Since then he has been in pretrial detention, waiting to be tried for "denial and refusal to serve in the military"; according to article 256 of the GDR penal code, the punishment is up to 5 years in prison. The proceedings are to take place on 20 August at 1500 hours in the Erfurt military court.

In the meantime the process has begun of removing Blumhagen's traces. His house in Graitschen was searched and sealed and subsequently emptied, and at the end of July it was torn down "because of its delapidated condition." Although Blumhagen did not agree with the demolition because he considered the house habitable, he is even supposed to pay for it. His friends protested against the state action in an unusual manner: Through the mail they sent "postcards" they had made themselves; they show Blumhagen's house intact, in front of it a heavy construction vehicle ready to begin the demolition. The news by the senders consists of three words which could also be a message: "The time has come."

8991

CSO: 2300/376

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM PLANNED FOR OFFICER COLLEGES

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Jul 82 p 13

[Rainer Funke interview with Maj Gen Werner Otto, chief, Administration of Schools and Advanced Education, Ministry for National Defense: "Result of the National People's Army (NVA) College Conference: After Four Years of Studies, a Diploma for the Lieutenant--NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Discussion on Demands and Tasks in the Training of Cadres for the NVA and Border Troops"]

[Text] The College Conference of the NVA, the Border Troops and Civil Defense of the GDR in early July set higher standards for the education and training, curriculum and research for the 1980's and 1990's. As defined by the fourth meeting of the SED ZK [Central Committee], the task at hand was especially to implement at the institutes of higher military education the party's scientific and higher education policies in long-range terms and with the greatest possible benefits for fighting-strength and combat-readiness. The challenges resulting from this task for the future education of German officers were discussed by correspondent Rainer Funke in an interview with Werner Otto, chief, Administration of Schools and Advanced Education, Ministry for National Defense.

[Question] From 1983 on, the revised study programs at officer training colleges will take effect. After their 4-year--rather than the traditional 3-year--training, the graduates from 1987 on, having been promoted to lieutenants, will also receive, for the first time the first academic rank--the diploma. What development tendencies are at the basis of these new concepts?

[Answer] The officers will fulfill their political and military duties under conditions of accentuating class confrontations which, of course, have a considerable influence on military matters.

Look Into the Future

The graduates, who leave military colleges in the 1980's, will be in charge of battalions and regiments in the 1990's as commanding officers, political and staff officers. Provided that the coalition character of the NVA will take on

an ever stronger form, predictions for these decades, the expected challenges for officers, the predictable development of the armed forces as well as the most recent experiences of the NVA and Soviet Army in the training of the officer corps, all these factors, made essential contributions to the new study programs.

In addition, the armed forces reflect clearly the progress of our socialist educational system. Our professional military personnel and the overwhelming majority of soldiers in basic training have today, after all, a completed 10-year or 12-year education. They have a solid general education and also good political and premilitary knowledge acquired in military training in the GST [(paramilitary) Society for Sport and Technology], and many of them have specialized knowledge, and some of them several years' experience in a profession, and in addition all of them have a good portion of self-confidence.

Preparatory Services Must Be Utilized.

From his first day of field service on, the young officer is faced with the challenges of utilizing the services already provided by society for increasing fighting strength and combat-readiness. His college training will prepare him even better for meeting this challenge. His studies lay an important foundation for the political and leadership qualities of a future officer. A special role is played here by the challenges of modern combat conditions for commanding officers, staff, political and field officers. This role refers, above all to their ability to lead troop collectives--and that under all kinds of tactical conditions.

Furthermore, it is important to take into consideration the influence of scientific-technological progress on the armed forces, such as the continuing introduction of micro-electronics and automated systems, and likewise the development of military science, of combat technology and weapons. In the future, graduates will therefore be faced in their practical work in the field by tasks for which academic study cannot offer solutions that will be valid for all times.

For all these reasons we have decided to revise curriculum contents according to the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee on "Tasks of Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society" of 18 March 1980.

[Question] The officer candidates will thus receive an extensive basic knowledge which will enable them far better to solve their tasks creatively...

[Answer] In the future, the graduates will be expected to become acquainted more thoroughly and independently, with the help of their theoretical knowledge, with new challenges facing their commands. Therefore, all the laws, norms, principles and methods of military life that meet these challenges will play a greater role than before in college training.

As we did before, we are emphasizing that the officer candidates' training is as close to life as possible and that they are thus prepared for all service

and living conditions in the daily life of the armed forces. This kind of training will enable the candidates to meet the challenges in the field fully and quickly. For this reason, during their 6th or 7th semester practice the future officers are already assigned to places in which they will begin their military careers after completing their college training.

[Question] These ideas make it possible, therefore, to give the graduates, after the final examination and together with their diploma, the first academic degree...

[Answer] Yes, they are therefore entitled to receive a professional degree such as: graduate sociologist (political officers), graduate educator (commanding officers), graduate engineer (commanding officers or officers in the technical services), graduate economist (officers of the supply services or civil defense).

Graduates who will complete their college training before 1986 without receiving a diploma can, as before, obtain the first academic degree at a military academy or at another institute of higher education.

[Question] How are officer colleges prepared to meet future challenges in curriculum and research?

[Answer] During the last months there were far-reaching exchanges of opinion on impending problems between military instructors, officer candidates, commanding officers, political and staff workers of the armed forces. The experiences gained here were taken into consideration in the revised study curricula and were discussed at the College Conference of the NVA, the Border Troops and Civil Defense.

Close Cooperation

At the institutes of higher learning themselves, much has happened during the last few years. The institutes have deepened and broadened their cooperation with military educational institutions of brother armies, especially of the Soviet Army.

As a rule, military instructors have good field command practice behind them. Many of them have graduated with exemplary results. Military colleges for future officers offer an education in modern military technology, their instructional equipment is in line with the most recent educational knowledge, and they have available a great variety of military literature so that they offer the best conditions for acquiring a mastery of any of the specific topics at hand.

8889

CSO: 2300/380

KADAR INTERVIEWED ON MITTERRAND VISIT

Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Jul 82 pp 1, 7

[Interview in Budapest with Mr Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by our special correspondent Michel Tatu: "An Interview With Mr Kadar--Mr Mitterrand's Visit to Hungary 'Is Useful For Needed Continuity in East-West Relations,' the First Secretary of the Party Told Us"; date not specified]

[Text] Mr Mitterrand is expected in Budapest in the late afternoon of Wednesday, 7 July for a two-day visit in Hungary, the first visit he is making to an Eastern European country since he was elected. His program provides for two face-to-face discussions with Mr Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and a meeting with the cardinal who is primate of Hungary and several writers and artists. The French president will be giving a press conference before going back to Paris Friday afternoon.

On the eve of this meeting Mr Kadar met in Budapest with our special correspondent. The man who has led Hungary for 26 years was delighted about, among other things, good Franco-Hungarian relations the significance of which "goes beyond bilateral relations," and a visit which "is also useful for needed continuity in the relations between countries with different social systems."

Budapest--The first secretary's office, on the first floor of the Party Central Committee's fortress-building, looks out over the Danube. The decoration is meant to be "internationalist" in the orthodox communist meaning of the term: A picture, rather ugly, showing Lenin playing chess; a portrait, more unpretentious, of Mr Brezhnev; and a few photographs of big communist meetings in the Kremlin. The man introduced himself almost shyly--"Kadar," as if there was a chance of confusing him with someone else--but he quickly showed himself to be playful and animated in both his facial expressions and his gestures in spite of his 70 years and a slight corpulence. He had already communicated written answers to our questions [word illegible] he gladly agreed to a conversation which would make it possible to "go further."

[Question] What do you expect from Mr Mitterrand's visit?

[Answer] We are pleased to welcome the president of the French Republic. His visit is an event of special significance, for Mr Mitterrand is the first French chief of state to be visiting Hungary.

I have good memories of our previous encounters in Budapest and in Paris, and I am certain that he as well will feel he is a welcome guest in Hungary during his current visit. We are expecting our talks to contribute to the broadening of the political, economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other bilateral relations between the French Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. Such a contribution has a significance which goes beyond bilateral relations. It shows that in the face of attempts which aim, as people are well aware, to aggravate the international situation and damage the relations between states--that responsible statesmen are still working today toward the development of mutually beneficial relations between countries with different social systems: They are thereby serving the interests of their peoples and at the same time those of peace.

No unsettled political matter hangs over our relations; that creates good conditions for our talks. Moreover, we are able to use the dynamic development of Franco-Hungarian relations--especially recent development--as a basis. However, there are still unexploited possibilities. For example, in our opinion we can continue to broaden mutually beneficial economic, scientific/technological, and cultural relations.

[Question] Does the fact that Mr Mitterrand has not gone to Moscow since he was elected and that Hungary is the first European country he is visiting give your country a special role?

[Answer] It is our opinion that especially in today's complicated international situation the leaders of each country have their role and their responsibility in the safeguarding of peace and the maintenance of normal relations among states.

Being realists, we do not assign our country any special role beyond that. That is why I attach importance to the fact that by means of this trip Mr Mitterrand is showing that he considers the Hungarian People's Republic a partner worthy of attention--that he is interested in our socialist experience. There is no doubt that this visit is also useful of needed continuity in the relations between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe with different social systems.

As I said I had the opportunity to meet with Mr Mitterrand well before his election as president, the last time being at the end of 1978 in Paris. Our talks were frank, constructive, and a great learning experience for me. As their results are demonstrating, those meetings were of great service, not only for our getting to know each other personally but also in the dialogue of a consultative nature between the parties we represent and in deepening the good relationship of our countries and peoples.

The Pershings: "A Great Danger"

[Question] How do you view the future of the talks on nuclear weapons in Europe? Should the French nuclear force be included in the negotiations in your opinion? Do you fear serious tensions in the event American Pershings and cruise missiles are installed in Western Europe?

[Answer] Hungary greeted the opening of talks on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe with delight, and it welcomed the fact that the strategic weapons issue is also on the agenda. No person, if he wants to stay alive, can be indifferent to the cause of peace. For us that is an issue of great importance, for the building of socialism is a total commitment to the defense of peace. For the moment the stands of the parties to these two negotiations are very different. The Soviet Union, in accordance with the principled line of its peace-loving foreign policy, starts from the fact that the essential task is to prevent war and safeguard peace and, with that end in view, to curb the arms race. The Warsaw Pact countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, feel that the goal of the talks--the basis for an agreement--can only be 'equal security at a lower level of arms.'

It is well known that at the moment certain influential circles and individuals in the United States are following a diametrically opposite course. Instead of a necessary and feasible agreement based on the principle of equal security they are endeavoring to obtain military superiority. Instead of curbing the arms race they are adding to their weaponry and attempting to create and install new weapons of mass destruction.

The success of the Geneva negotiations depends basically on the extent to which the United States takes account of realities. Today an approximate balance of forces has become established as a whole, both in the entire world, and in Europe where the main forces face each other. That balance exists between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. I would point out here the French and English nuclear forces are constituent elements of that balance. In the negotiations, then, it is logical--if the parties aspire to the preservation of equal security--to take all the elements of the situation into account.

In spite of the difficulties I am confident about the prospects for a limitation on nuclear arms in Europe. It is highly significant that the Soviet Union has recently taken a number of unilateral disarmament steps and tried to build confidence among nations through important measures. In this regard, its commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is particularly significant. It is unquestionably a good change that the United States has also taken a step and that the talks have thus been able to start in Geneva. The powerful peace movement which is coming to the fore nowadays in Western Europe and the United States proves that nations do not want to live in the shadow of a nuclear catastrophe.

The installation of new American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe would expose not only the gains of detente--which have been achieved with difficulty--but also the security and very existence of the peoples of Europe to great danger; we only have to consider the insane idea of a 'limited nuclear war in Europe'! The Warsaw Pact states understand the other party's legitimate security interests and are prepared to take them into account. But if we want the talks to provide real results, the natural aspiration and fundamental interest of the Soviet Union and its allies to see their own security properly guaranteed must also be taken into consideration. That is the most practicable path leading to a halt in the arms race, the elimination of the threat of war, and the stabilization of international relations.

The SS-20's: "Take the Context into Account"

[Question] Was it really necessary for the Soviet Union to install new missiles aimed at Western Europe--the SS-20's--during the detente years, at a time when nothing comparable was being produced in the West? Wasn't deterrence between the USSR and the United States already assured at that time?

[Answer] There was, in fact, a situation of detente; the Helsinki agreements, the Soviet-American negotiations on arms limitation, and certain agreements like SALT I and the non-proliferation treaty came into being. But weapons modernization and the development of military technology were continued at all times and in all places. Besides, although there was an overall balance in the military area, the experts were able to ascertain that this balance did not exist for all types of weaponry.

Thus, there is a considerable difference between the structure of the USSR's intermediate-range weaponry and that of the United States. The USSR has land-based missiles for the most part. As for the United States and its Western allies, their intermediate-range weapons are either airborne or sea-based. Now, the Americans modernized that airborne and sea-based weaponry, which led the Soviet Union to modernize its land-based arsenal. Therefore, an objective approach is possible only if one takes the context into account--if one approaches the issue in all its complexity.

Finally the USSR announced that it was unilaterally putting an end to its installation of new intermediate-range missiles and that it was prepared to reduce their number. But I would like to make two further observations: From the American point of view the intermediate-range weapons are called "tactical" because they do not reach the territory of the United States. But the American missiles are able to reach the territory of the USSR. And the Soviet Union's defense officials cannot disregard that essential fact. It is also of concern to the defense of the Eastern European countries.

Another factor is more sensitive for you French. The United States and the USSR can only talk about their own weapons. But only a single country within the Warsaw Pact has nuclear weaponry, while there are three such countries in NATO. That must be considered when one is talking about SS-20's.

The Economic Reform: "More Than 20 Years Ago"

[Question] Is the economic reform embarked upon in the 1960's going to continue and become more extensive?

[Answer] It is perhaps not so well-known that the modernization of economic management was embarked upon in Hungary more than 20 years ago. Following the decentralization of management, the burden of administrative measures applied in industry was lightened, the profitsharing participation of firms was increased, and the role of market and financial interconnections was increased. We have achieved particularly favorable results in the planned management of the production and sale of agricultural products, and this was with the help of price and financial resource policy.

It was on the basis of these beginnings and favorable experiences that in 1968 we started the reform of the entire system of economic management. At present we can justifiably assert that our system of economic management is useful in a more flexible fashion for our planned socialist economy than it was previously, and that it has a better balance between the efficiency of economic processes managed in a centralized fashion and the autonomy, responsibility and material interest of enterprises. It has stimulated the spirit of initiative and enterprise and has freed new creative energies.

We would like the system of management, planning and organization to adapt itself even better and more flexibly to changing conditions. That adaptation is a fundamental task for Hungary, for our statistics connect us through countless links to the world economy and we are involved in a particularly active fashion in the international division of labor.

Therefore, in answering you in the affirmative, I would like to immediately add: We consider the system of management as a means making it possible to promote the efficiency of the functioning of a socialist planned economy.

[Question] Aren't the continuous rise in the price of oil and the difficulty of getting Western foreign exchange likely to prompt Hungary to reduce its trade with the West?

[Answer] During the entire development of the Hungarian economy it has had the great advantage of having the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as partners. It is not just a matter of the natural advantage following from our social system and political objectives being the same. The development of economic relations among socialist countries is still sustained these days by real economic advantages. They are relations which can be planned, are mutually beneficial, are rapidly expanding, and are reliable. In the current difficult situation of the world economy, they exert an unequivocally stabilizing influence on our economic development. Without them our problems would be much bigger.

In addition, changed international conditions on both political and economic levels, and the discrimination and embargo policy carried out by certain capitalist circles vis-a-vis the socialist countries, make the development of multilateral cooperation among socialist countries in the economic, scientific and technological areas essential.

The Hungarian People's Republic has never aimed at Autarky, which would be nonsense anyway. Hungary is very interested in broadening mutually beneficial economic relations with the capitalist countries. That is a constant element in our economic policy. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Editor's note: COMECON [CEMA]) countries as a whole are not seeking autarky either. In their stand made public at the end of the 36th CEMA session in June 1982, they plainly showed their intention to expand their mutual cooperation without that affecting the cooperation they have built up with other countries. They dissociated themselves from isolationism of any kind.

Poland: Close Ties

[Question] What lessons do you draw from the Polish events, particularly as regards the organization and activity of the trade unions? Do you consider it normal for the army to take the party's place in running the country?

[Answer] Poland is a focus of attention in Hungary for several reasons. Our traditional relations of friendship are well-known. Those relations have become enriched during the last three decades, since the time our two nations opted for socialism. Our parties--our countries--are linked by close ties in all areas. Both countries are members of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA. That in itself explains pretty well why Hungarian society follows activity in Poland with a keen interest.

The Polish events highlight our own experiences in the building of socialism even more. Among those experiences a special place should be given to the relations between the socialist state, the party as the society's political guiding force, and the trade union association which groups together the vast majority of workers. At one time we were still just searching for the role and place of trade unions in socialism. In addition, at the beginning of the 1950's political distortions had made trade union work in Hungary formal and bureaucratic. Thanks to the policy we have been carrying out for 25 years, trade unions in our country today are autonomous organizations of workers without their being independent of our working-class government. The situation in our country is that the means of production fall under collective ownership, the exploitation of men by other men has ceased, and the Hungarian trade unions take part in the definition and the implementation of policy.

In view of the threats which were hanging over the gains of socialism in the period when the Polish crisis was worsening, the Hungarian Communists--the workers of Hungary--welcomed with understanding the sovereign decision of the Polish leaders last December by which the Polish armed forces, under

the leadership of the Military Council of National Salvation and via energetic measures, blocked the way for enemy forces which were stirring up anarchy and civil war; they defended the government of the people, thereby creating the initial conditions for a socialist solution to their real problems.

Our stand was inspired by the conviction that only a stable and socialist Poland can serve the common cause of peace and security in Europe.

[Question] Even with a military government?

[Answer] Since August 1980 the situation in Poland hasn't been normal. That is why the Poles have had to use special means which fit that abnormal situation. In my humble opinion, that government is not a typical military government. All the constitutional institutions, the parties, the Parliament, and the government, are functioning. Having said that, even the Poles recognize that they have not thereby resolved the country's fundamental social issues. They have merely created the essential conditions for the resolution of those issues. The Polish United Workers Party--the other parties--all the positive forces in Polish society must take part in that resolution. We would like the solutions to be socialist solutions.

1956: The Great Majority of the Nation Understood

[Question] You have been the head of the Hungarian Workers Party for 26 years and you were in that position at the time of the Soviet Army's decisive intervention in Budapest on 4 November 1956. Did you request that intervention, and do you today still consider that it was necessary?

[Answer] What you calling "intervention" was quite another matter for us Hungarians.

It meant that our nation was able to avoid losing its socialist gains and avoid experiencing the sufferings and tremendous sacrifices of a civil war and becoming the center of a world conflict. The great majority of the Hungarian nation understood and adopted that reasoning, if not at that precise time--as of the initial days--at least after a very short time.

That was a period of extreme tension that we went through at the end of October and beginning of November 1956, when the counterrevolution was engaging in its armed attack, killing without reason and attempting to put an end to the people's government. The communists and the Hungarian supporters of the people's government and socialism had only a single duty left: To save people's democracy in Hungary.

The revolutionary worker-peasant government formed at the beginning of November 1956, of which I was president, asked for the Soviet Union's assistance. The Soviet Government gave a favorable response to our request: Because of that it was possible for us to overcome the crisis more quickly and with fewer sacrifices. We had confidence that the population would understand our action and would appreciate our will to oppose the counterrevolutionary current.

The historic decision we took in November 1956 is justified by all our experiences of the last quarter-century, by the results we have achieved in the building of socialism, and by the broad and solid national unity which has developed. Today the Hungarian nation lives and works in a calm and stable atmosphere. The Hungarian People's Republic is a member of and has equal rights in the community of socialist countries, and it maintains relations with nearly all countries in the world.

9631

CSO: 3100/813

SIGNIFICANCE OF MITTERRAND VISIT TO HUNGARY STUDIED

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Jul 82 p 6

[Article by special correspondent, Bernard Brigouleix: "The First Visit of a French President to Hungary: In Budapest, Mr. Mitterrand Will Be Defining 'French-Style Ostpolitik'"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 7 July, Mr Mitterrand was expected in Budapest for a 48-hour official visit. He is accompanied by Mr Cheysson, minister of external relations; Mr. Jobert, minister of foreign trade; Mr Chevenement, minister of research and industry; Mr Lang, minister of culture; Mr Pierre Joxe, chairman of the Socialist Party parliamentary group and the France-Hungary friendship parliamentary group in the National Assembly; and Mr Chazelle, chairman of the Senate's France-Hungary friendship parliamentary group.

The first face-to-face meeting between Mr Mitterrand and Mr Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, is scheduled for Thursday morning. The president of the French Republic will be going back to Paris Friday evening.

Budapest--Mr Mitterrand's choice of Hungary for his first official trip to an Eastern European country since he was elected to the presidency of the French Republic is not an innocent one. The chief of state feels that the Budapest trip offers a twofold advantage: on the one hand, to put new life into shaky bilateral relations and, on the other hand, to take advantage of Hungary's unique position in the "socialist camp" in order to affirm or reaffirm on the occasion of this visit the principles which guide French diplomacy in its relations with the Soviet block.

French-Hungarian bilateral relations are paradoxically both cordial and very deficient. They are cordial, as previous exchanges had already shown--in particular Mr Kadar's visit to France in November 1978 and the visits of the premier, Mr Lazar, in 1976 and 1979 and that of Mr Aczel in April when he was

still first deputy premier of the Council of Ministers. Mr Raymond Barre had gone to Budapest in 1977 when he was still prime minister. But all the same, this is the first official visit to Hungary by a French president.

Relations in the trade area are very deficient, however, as Mr Jobert, minister of foreign trade, was able to observe when he was in the Hungarian capital recently. France is only 59th in the ranks of Hungary's suppliers and 55th among its export customers, even though Hungary trades a great deal with the West. Overall French-Hungarian trade for 1981 barely reached 2.2 billion francs.

As for cultural exchange, it is hardly any better in spite of having been far more favorable in the past. The proportion of secondary-level students studying French as their second modern language (Russian being compulsory as the first foreign language) does not exceed 8 percent. In this respect as well, the presence in the French delegation of the minister involved--in this case, Mr Lang-- reflects the concern to boost cooperation the current weakness of which cannot be disguised by past good intentions. That concern is also illustrated by certain features of the program of Mr Mitterrand's visit: he is slated to speak to some Hungarian writers and intellectuals. The Budapest French Institute, in particular, could be called upon to play an active role in this boosting of cultural relations between the two countries.

But although the importance of these trade and cultural issues is not being underrated, Mr Mitterrand wants his trip to Hungary to be an event in the diplomatic area first and foremost. In fact, in the Elysee it is felt that France has underestimated two main elements of Hungarian reality for too long: the degree of independence from Moscow that Budapest has been able to gain in spite of apparent total loyalty, and consequently, the role that Hungary can be in a position to play in the dialogue between East and West.

A Special Case

The moderation of Budapest's comments on the Polish events has been noted with particular satisfaction in Paris; the tone of these comments contrasts sharply with the anti-Polish condemnation expressed in East Berlin, in Prague or in Moscow. To be sure, on their side the French did not let themselves see in this a kind of crack into which the West should hurry to slip a wedge in order to transform it into a breach: that is a game that, besides being lost before it starts, Paris will be careful not to play. But in Budapest's tone there is at least some encouragement for choosing Budapest as a capital from which one might renew dialogue with Eastern Europe.

Such is the case to the extent that Mr Mitterrand could take advantage of his trip to Hungary to emphatically redefine there the broad outlines of a sort of

French-style "Ostpolitik." The very first months of his 7-year presidential term had been marked by very great firmness toward the Kremlin--firmness which contrasted with the understanding displayed by Giscard d'Estaing, whom Mr Mitterrand accused of being Brezhnev's "messenger boy."

This aloof stance of France toward Moscow (which perhaps the presence of communist ministers made particularly necessary in the eyes of a new president who was anxious to reassure the Western, and especially American, allies of France) seems to have been succeeded by a less hostile, if not more accommodating, phase. The signing of the Siberian natural gas contract--so hotly debated--was the forerunner. The trip to Hungary can offer the French President the opportunity to define his strategy in this regard and its limits. All the more so since at the Elysee, where the failure of the Versailles summit was admitted as uncomfortably as its disclosure was tardy, they would not be displeased to make known to the Americans that the latter's disregard of West European demands can be answered by a renewal of diplomatic and trade interest in the "other Europe," the one behind the Iron Curtain.

It is true that Hungary's being a special case in the Soviet camp stems much more from what is done than what is said. Budapest's official discourse hardly differs from the "wooden language" of the other "people's democracies." Its reality, on the other hand, is quite different. That is really why while the Hungarians are expecting a great deal from the French president's visit they are not excessively anxious to hear their uniqueness praised too much by a Western voice: 25 years ago they paid too dearly for their breaches of Soviet orthodoxy and their longing for freedom to again want to give the Kremlin anything to notice other than their similarity to the Soviets. In the interest of what is "unsaid" they have learned to be wary of making pronouncements, even if they are thinking them all the same.

9631

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MARTIAL LAW 'INABILITIES' DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 6-8 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Wladyslaw Styczynski: "The Inabilities of Martial Law"]

[Text] I am an ordinary person. I take in each successive address of the chief heads of the ship of state uncereemoniously and I do not have time to involve myself with the stream of interviews with representatatives of the so-called second echelon. I do not care what the director of some department thinks about "inflationary phenomena," what the chairman of some other advisory body feels about the wisdom of working people or what some staff political activist has to say about national accord.

I considered the initiation of martial law to be inevitable and necessary to prevent us from committing collective suicide. I think of my country in terms of the "difficult patriotism" of citizens who must ride in crowded public transportation and spend their whole lives trying to make ends meet. Someone built this country and someone has used and is using it. The dog has dug its claws into the latter, but the former does not want what has been built up to go to ruin.

In this sense, I regarded what happened 13 December 1981 positively, as the least evil--exactly the manner in which it was looked upon by those who initiated it. This abnormal state enabled me and millions of others to work normally. At the same time, this normal work was our assent that the extraordinary methods of the crisis should be brought to an end. Volumes of paper have been used in the outcry on this subject.

It has also been said that there is no return to what preceded August 1980 but there is also no return to what happened between August 1980 and December 1981. In saying this, our worried society was once again being a trusting creditor.

A Returning Wave

In a rush of bitterness, one of my old friends said that Poland is a country where nothing can be settled in a normal way. However critical he was of

Poland, he did manage to sail through his political science career, which ended without glory or scholarly achievements in a generous pension. But he was right and there have been many occasions when I have had reason to be reminded of this, especially recently.

In several of my articles in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH and PERSPEKTYWY I have tried to prove that to view the sources of the crisis merely in terms of disrupted relations between authority and society is a gross oversimplification. Apart from the fact that research has shown otherwise, it gives absolution to hundreds of thousands, and maybe millions of our people who have made a nice business from our mistakes and perversions. They have made small deals and large ones, creating a labyrinth of corrupt channels and systems, drawing into them small, medium and large groups of the government apparatus. Of course, the reverse also occurred until finally it was hard to tell who was demoralizing whom. The common citizen fared the worst, especially when he tried to function normally and legally.

The most penetrating, forceful and especially prophetic studies of this phenomenon have been done by the following very different authors: Prof Krystyna Daszkiewicz in her books "Klimaty bezprawia" [Climates of Anarchy] (1971) and "Traktat o zlej robocie" [Treatise on Poor Work] (1974), both Book and Knowledge editions, and Stanislaw Lem in an essay less than 25 pages in length, entitled "Cybernetyka stosowana: przyklad z dziedziny socjologii" [Applied Cybernetics: An Example From the Field of Sociology] included in the collection "Dialogi" [Dialogues], Literary Publishing House, Krakow, 1972. These three items were published at the beginning of the 1970's. One need only cite the chapter titles of Krystyna Daszkiewicz's books to feel at home.

From "Klimaty bezprawia"--I. The Clique and Its Members: The Essence and Functioning of Cliques. Corruption. The Repression of Criticism. Members of Cliques. II. The Clique in Action: The Masquerade. Reigning Myths. III. The Individual in Conflict: The Battle. Pyrrhic Victories.

From Traktat o zlej robocie"--Fake Action: Fake Work, Fake Attitudes, Fake Records, Fake Action and Social Work, the Fake Crackdown, the Consequences of Fake Action. "Props": Slogans, Catchwords, Falsified Mottos, Myths, the Mystification of Attitudes, Alcohol. Bonuses and Awards, Bribes, Junkets. Attitudes: Careerism, Conformism in Symbiosis with Bureaucracy, Logrolling and Protectionism, a Pathological Attitude to Public Property, License. Tactics: Personal Politics, Participation in a Clique. The Struggle with Criticism and Unsound Decisions Made to Resolve Conflicts in Plants, The Neutralization of Control Factors.

Returning to the specific and seemingly unusual issues of today, we should call to mind the old truth that nothing perishes in nature, that development and the particular state of social awareness cannot be lost over a very short time.

A primary method for maintaining the system of personal gain by public officials and the state of irresponsibility on which this system was based, was to create a universal climate of inability--the inability to make decisions and the inability to act at all levels. It is a half-truth that before 1980 we had an overly centralized system of authority leading to its decline and the like. Even if it were centralized, had that authority been a real authority, evoking respect or even fear, which severely reprimanded inaction or sloppy action or removed one from one's position for such action, perhaps we would have had less democracy but there would have been order and the breakdown would not have occurred on such a broad scale. But this is not what happened, as we remember very well. Inaction paid off a hundred times over. No one could do anything. The director of an enterprise could not make a decision, allegedly because the director of the union had jurisdiction over the given matter. The director of the union crossed his arms and said that he did not have the right to act without a decision by the vice minister. When one finally reached the vice minister, the vice minister informed him with a sad smile that he was only the vice minister. The minister, assuming that one could get to him, would explain that he is only a glorified clerk, that the director of the enterprise has the full power of decision making and without him no one undertakes decisions.

Thus, let me once again contradict the prevailing opinion to insist that in the past decade we have had a paresis of authority, not an increase, and this refers to all authority.

The August workers' uprising was a revolt against the all-encompassing state of inability, hence the general rush to Solidarity, which was the expression of a desire to take part in effective action. It was working people taking matters into their own hands.

The right succeeded in seizing this grassroots current and for a time turned it in the direction of its latent strategic concepts. It was able to do this so effectively mainly because its opponent was not accustomed to any sort of action. No one acted. Nobody will convince me that only antisocialist forces created the chaos.

When the military (the only organized and internally cohesive socialist force at the time) took the direct responsibility for the fate of the disorganized country into its hands, the martial law statutes were directed primarily at the already consolidated structures of the right, halting the proliferating catastrophes. However, the posthumous children of the preAugust "housecleaning" interpreted the actions of WRON [Military Council of National Salvation] their own way.

Impotence of the Powerful

In one of his addresses, General Jaruzelski stated that it is depressing to read the reports written by local military groups after they gained control.

Masses of people who were responsible for doing some sort of job continued to shirk their elementary obligations. A member of the highest party echelon, locksmith Bogdan Borys, said at the recent Ninth Plenum of the PZPR KC [Central Committee], "In addition to the plague of public officials pursuing personal gain, there is another phenomenon that ruins public moral and reflects itself in the attitudes of the young--speculation. In spite of the actions being taken to overcome it that are broadcast on television, the results fall miserably short of the public demand." Another worker member of the Central Committee, turner Jerzy Kurdziel, broached another subject at the same plenum: "Until now a young worker or engineer who starts working immediately after finishing school encounters so many fears and obstacles that all his ardor and commitment are dispelled. His ideals vanish, his dreams fade away and first frustration sets in, then laziness, deviousness, securing himself against responsibility for his own decisions and avoiding inconvenience."

Another worker activist and member of the PZPR KC Political Bureau, Albin Siwak, chairman of the Central Committee Commission on Citizens' Letters and Complaints said at the same plenum, "Within the framework of my duties, I receive people every Monday. What I hear exceeds the human imagination. Young girls come in, the mothers of two or three children, telling me that the fathers do not pay one penny toward the care of these children. Does our country really have no official power to force a man to pay for the care of his own children? I appeal to our comrade deputies to take up this matter. An alimony fund will not solve anything. It is incredible that in our country we cannot establish a law concerning the duty to work, that 150,000 men from age 18 to age 45 shirk work and go unpunished."

To expand this statement, injustice to people exceeds the human imagination; no power to enforce simple matters is guaranteed by a current law. For clarity's sake, let us point out that after the initiation of martial law, an administrative regulation was created concerning the compulsory obligation of men between the ages of 18 and 45 to work. Thus, after 7 months, martial law lets 150,000 bluebirds go their merry way. I see them every day drinking a half dozen bottles of beer at a time outside stores, reveling in their pithy use of language in the presence of the crowds of women and children waiting in queues. Often they are only 200 or 300 meters away from the MO [Citizens' Militia] station. Unlimited quantities of beer are sold in the large stores located at the housing projects eternally under construction. The clientele always includes a large number of construction workers, with resulting drunkenness on the job.

Can this be another wave of the pre-August inabilities, powerlessness and crossed arms? As a journalist who specializes mainly in the issues of worker self-government, I felt the full force of this wave. Of course, there is no impact on those who "implement" the orders of the highest political and state authorities in their own way. I took a poll of all the ministries after the

basic documents concerning the suspension of organs of workforce self-government were published. The position of the Eighth Plenum, the position of the Sejm, the position of the Government Plenipotentiary for Economic Reform--all had been published in the daily papers, in hundreds of thousands of copies. I had it all in my briefcase when I went to the ministries. What did I accomplish?

A middle-ranking ministerial bureaucrat told me that the Sejm recommendations and official announcements meant nothing; his party conscience made him manifest the greatest sensitivity, even when the director and secretary of an enterprise's POP [Basic Party Organization] have signed a recommendation that the self-government be dissolved.

Thus, neither the position of the Central Committee nor that of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee], but his subjective "party conscience" would determine whether plant recommendations that self-governments be reactivated would lie idle for months. I rejoined that it is curious when a nonparty journalist who takes the party resolutions literally and who clearly wants to popularize them runs up against the ultimate revelation in ministerial circles, that "none of this means anything."

After completing this article, I listened to the 21 July Sejm addresses of General Jaruzelski and Vice Premier Rakowski. Once again I subscribe to what I have written here.

8536

CSO: 2600/841

POLISH YOUTH LEADERS SPEAK AT WFDY ASSEMBLY

Scout Union Commander Ornat

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4-6 Jun 82 p 11

[Text] We are meeting after the successive 4-year completion of the WFDY program, with the international situation vastly differing from the one when we began the program. Then we were filled with optimism and faith in the victory of just ideas.

Since the last WFDY assembly, the Polish youth movement has initiated meetings characteristic of the idea of detente, such as the seminar entitled "Upbringing of the Young Generation in the Spirit of Peace." The Dec 1978 decision by NATO brutally halted and even retreated from the process of detente that had been initiated and accepted with understanding and was being realized with the hope for a peaceful future. This process dealt with the distribution of medium-range weapons in Western Europe. Retreat from this process resulted from the decision to increase the NATO armament budget.

Once again we are facing head-on a real threat to world peace. The socialist countries as well as millions of people in the capitalist countries are aware of this. The governments of the countries that have just signed the Final Act in Helsinki are following a policy that continues more and more to inflame the international relations against the wishes of their people.

Polish youth supports the numerous peace initiatives of the socialist countries, above all the propositions announced by the USSR at the 25th CPSU Conference. We have been waiting for the ratification of SALT 2, for the continuation of talks in Vienna and for the success of the Madrid meeting.

We are hereby renewing the agreed propositions of the socialist countries to continue along the path of dialogue and detente. With others we fully support the latest USSR propositions announced by Brezhnev at the 19th Conference of the Lenin Komsomol. These propositions are coupled with the ever-increasing activity of the peace movements of the social and youth organizations.

The imperialist forces do everything within their power to degrade the values stemming from the principles of socialist ideology and to negate the peace efforts of the countries of the socialist community. In Poland we have felt it particularly vividly when our country became a target of various forms of political pressures and economic restrictions and when we became an object of the Western countries' propaganda campaigns, as a result of the introduction of martial law, imposed by the sovereign decision of the constitutional government of the Polish People's Republic.

Some countries look unfavorably at the internal Polish decision [imposition of martial law], for it dispels any dreams of the weakening of the community of socialist countries. Poland is a clear example of unprofitable influence exerted upon the development of a country for the abandonment of socialist principles and attitudes.

The real help from the other socialist countries and the hostile attitude toward Poland of some Western countries, have again proven whose declarations are true and honest. They are testimony to the righteousness of the undertaken path of restoration.

Polish Socialist Youth Unions are participating in all efforts leading to stabilization of the country, continuing and making specific the tasks for the immediate future years. Our country must solve many urgent problems. However, it is up to us, and up to us only, to solve them; they concern us, the Poles, our future and the countenance of our country. All the meddling will only block our way from the crisis.

The structure of the Polish youth movement has changed in the last year. Instead of the Federation of Socialist Polish Youth Unions, there are the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], which function independently. We've recognized such a model to be the most desirable and most appropriate for the needs of both children and the youth environments, and for the requirements placed upon individual organizations.

We do not at all intend to give up our international activities while we are preoccupied with the urgent problems of our country and we do not intend to discontinue our contributions to the development of cooperation with European and world youth.

We declare our full readiness to cooperate in the international arena, to follow the initiatives of the WFDY and its specialized agendas, and to realize its statutory ideals and tasks.

Rural Youth Leader Świrgoń

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 5

[Text] Among others, the chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], Waldemar Świrgoń took part in the plenary discussion on June 6. Here are the main points of his address:

The Rural Youth Union [ZMW] along with the Socialist Youth Unions continues to wage firm political struggle against the opponents of socialism. In our international activity we desire to have an essential input into the strengthening of the forces of the socialist front, of progress and of democracy. We declare our continued support for the program principles of WFDY.

Members of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] are in solidarity with all progressive and revolutionary youth organizations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We are fighting against racism, apartheid policy and the ongoing rebirth of fascism. We support the developing countries in their striving to establish new and just economic orders. We condemn colonialism and neocolonialism. We are the broker for the exchange of experiences of the youth who fight for their political self-determination in all countries of the world.

The only path to secure peace is through strengthening the process of international detente and cooperation with which Europe is familiar. We are interested in diminishing military tension and in taking realistic steps toward both European and world disarmament. We declare our support of the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones. We regard the Soviet-American debates on strategic arms limitation to be of crucial importance in disarmament and dialogue to reduce tensions. We oppose the decisions of the Washington [Reagan] administration and of NATO to speed the arms race and to increase the militarization of Western Europe, undertaken during recent years. We reject the thesis that the USA and USSR are equally responsible for the arms race. We respectfully follow the Soviet policy of a search for paths to arms reduction, particularly of the latest Brezhnev proposals given during the 19th Lenin Komsomol Congress.

The strategic aim of imperialism is to undermine the detente achievements, the political-territorial status quo of Europe and of the world. This strategy became apparent particularly in our country. We have received a blow by the manner in which our internal difficulties have been exploited. Our socialist rule and the achievements of real socialism have been discredited. The justified protest of Polish working class against the deviations within socialism has been used to inspire and disseminate political dissent.

The Rural Youth Union [ZMW] regrets the fact, that among the interference into internal Polish matters were also the statements of some progressive youth organizations in Europe. We reject and condemn all forms of interference into the internal matters of our country.

We think that WFDY ought to give strong support to the peace movements in Western countries.

Polish youth ardently supports the peace initiatives of the Lenin Komsomol and declares its participation in the peace marches-campaign and in the antiwar action, Memory.

ZSMP Leader Jaskiernia

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 9-10 Jun 82 p 3

[Condensation of J. Jaskiernia's appearance]

[Text] The 11th WFDY Assembly discussion has demonstrated how a tense and complicated situation in international relations constitutes a threat to peace and how the danger of war and nuclear catastrophe has been brought nearer. People, their lives and rights are the subject of immediate threat. Under that threat is also the future of the young generation. Such a development of the situation results from the aggressive policy of imperialism, which aims in every manner to halt the revolutionary processes, the struggle for national and social liberation and the further strengthening of socialism.

Our particular worry is caused by Europe. There, after a period of detente and cooperation marked by the CSCE process, imperialist circles renew the attempts to push the nations of our continent off the path of peace. Conscious of the growing danger, the nations and youth of Europe unite their efforts to protect the achievements of the detente, to halt the arms race and to begin disarmament. Our discussion proved how great merits in this field were earned by the policy of the Soviet Union and of other socialist nations. The steps to disarmament undertaken unilaterally, the numerous proposals of reduction of military potential and of nuclear arms, exemplify a constructive position of the socialist countries. Recently a striking example came in the proposals of Brezhnev at the 19th Congress of the Lenin Komsomol.

During the assembly we have learned of the brutal aggression against Lebanon and against the Palestinian nation. This is another yet sign of the destabilizing policy employed by imperialism in the Near East and in other regions. We decidedly condemn that act of aggression and we demand immediate cessation of the crimes being committed by Zionism. We also express solidarity with the nations of Latin America and Asia in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Poland has been living through a crisis for nearly two years. The justifiable September 1980 workers' protest was used by the foes of socialism to attempt to push Poland off the path of socialist development. On 13 December 1981 the anarchy in the political, social and economic life was stopped. The decision of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic to introduce martial law is in accord with our constitution.

World reactionary forces, using human rights, freedom and democracy defense slogans, have been striving to convert our internal situation into the instrument of their strategy. Regrettably such activities have not been denounced by some democratic groups that could not, or would not, understand the true sense of Polish events and of their international origins. From this group statements were made that indicated the lack of understanding of, or even an ill will toward, our problems and the ways of solving them. We are deeply convinced that the process of normalization of our country will be the best verification of the correctness of our solutions.

The Polish youth movement attaches great importance to the further development of WFDY cooperation with all the antiwar and peace movements. The dialogue and multilateral cooperation between the youth and student organizations of various political and ideological persuasions will serve to broaden the front of the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress.

Closing his appearance, J. Jaskiernia expressed the conviction that the results of the 11th Assembly would add to the strengthening of unity between the members of the whole federation and progressive youth of the world.

Close of Assembly

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11-13 Jun 82 pp 1, 11

[Article by Antoni Olczak and Grzegorz Lubczk]

[From SZTANDAR MŁODYCH Correspondents in Prague]

[Text] Through the singing of the WFDY anthem, after one more hour-long plenary discussion and after a day rich in events, just before midnight on 9 June, the 11th General Assembly of the federation became part of the history of the world's largest organization of progressive youth.

On Wednesday the fruit of the past days' work was gathered. Several resolutions were passed. In those, WFDY expressed its attitude to the unusually complicated problems of all the regions of the world. These problems will become the essential activity of the federation in the next 4 years.

New leadership has been elected. The function of the chairman was entrusted to the Union of Democratic Youth of Lebanon [UDYL]. Walid Masri was most cordially greeted as the new chief of the federation. He received many sincere congratulations. Who is the new WFDY president?

Walid Masri was born in 1954 in Beirut. He studied in France at a mechanics department. After his return in 1977, he became active in the UDYL. Soon he became a member of the UDYL Executive Office. Since 1981 he has been representing his organization in the WFDY Executive Office in Budapest. In his first speech he stressed that we all must unite our forces even more in the struggle for the maintenance of peace, as there is no matter of equal importance.

The functions of the WFDY secretaries were entrusted to the Committee for Mutual International Contacts of the Polish Unions of Youth and Students. It will represent our youth at the WFDY forum.

At the closing of the debates, SZTANDAR MŁODYCH correspondents asked the presidents of the Polish Youth Unions and the participants of the 11th WFDY Assembly for their evaluation of the debates.

[Jerzy Jaskiernia, president, Main Board of the Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP], president of the Polish delegation] The 11th WFDY Assembly has undoubtedly been an important event in the activities of the progressive youth movement. The ever-sharpening international situation set the tone of the debates in the plenary as well as in the regional committees and in the topic groups. Since the last assembly, in 1978 in Berlin, there has been a clear cooling of the East-West relationship.

The debates in Prague took place in an atmosphere of immense concern for peace and detente, for an end to the arms race and avoidance of a nuclear holocaust. It is clearly evident that with the increased complexity of the international situation there is an increase in the number of controversies within WFDY. This situation results in part from more and more new organizations joining the federation; these are communist, as well as socialist, democratic, etc.

WFDY becomes more and more representative of the progressive youth movement, consensus becomes increasingly more difficult. Despite these objectives, yet partly also subjective, new conditions, the common compromise formulas for the solution of the most difficult questions have been finally worked out. That proves WFDY to be a viable and flexible organization, capable of meeting increasingly more complex tasks resulting from the new international implications.

In the course of the assembly there was a call for the solution of the political situation in Poland. In general, the statements showed a great knowledge, understanding and manifest solidarity with the Polish nation, which is looking

for the ways out of the present crisis. There were a few voices in the discussion that indicated the lack of knowledge of the events developing in Poland and even indicated ill will in the interpretation of these events. In those situations, however, representatives of the Polish and other delegations stepped forward with effective debate.

In conclusion, despite these mentioned difficulties, the 11th WFDY Assembly did contribute to the strengthening and unity of the progressive youth movement, WFDY in its present form should have a good chance to realize its main statutory purpose; that is, the struggle for the strengthening of peace. The Union of Socialist Polish Youth will do everything to contribute to the elevation of the federation's authority, to broadening its sphere of influence and to increase the effectiveness of its activities in the struggle for peace and detente.

[Andrzej Ornat, commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP]:] The Polish Scout Union has already participated in the meetings of the highest WFDY forum. We are, after all, one of the founding members of the federation. I am thus able to state that this movement has evolved into a more flexible organization.

The debates of the assembly have been dominated by the topics of the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament. The Polish matters have also enjoyed a great interest. We want to stress that the decisive majority of the participants understands the difficult situation and supports the Polish efforts to emerge from the crisis. Even though a few representatives of the youth organizations from Western Europe had a different opinion about the validity of our solutions of the crisis, as a result of polemics and discussions they came to terms with the position presented earlier in the meeting. The problems of the Polish youth have met with such interest, support and solidarity not so much because of the sympathies but rather because of the role that Poland plays in the creation of the lasting relationships of peace structures and in the stability of Europe.

Our propositions to the assembly of the International Committee of Children's and Adolescents' Movements [ICCAM] are a parallel. They concern the activities to promote upbringing for peace, the struggle for the realization of the declaration of child's rights and the development of cooperation with the organizations of differing political orientations; they have been accepted in the working program for the coming years. Our Forum of International Experience Exchange has been made a permanent mode of the ICCAM work.

[Waldemar Świrgoń, chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW]:] Today the WFDY assembly came to a close. This is the time for reflection. For us, for the Rural Youth Union, this was the most important event in our modest international activities for the following reasons.

First, our reconstituted organization has been accepted among the members of WFDY. This represents the renewal of ZMW's mandate.

Second, it was the first time that ZMW had a chance to represent its stand on international and Polish issues to such a broad forum of world progressive youth.

Third, our Union has made a series of bilateral contacts and contacts through mediary efforts of the Committee for International Contacts of the Polish Youth and Student Unions with the organizations from socialist countries and with the developing and progressive organizations from capitalist countries.

We consider the unanimity of youth in the face of the most important human problems to be the great success of the 11th WFDY Assembly. We spoke in unison for securing a more durable peace, for resolving points of disagreement through dialogue, for disarmament and detente, for the development of democracy and for the right to national self-determination. We have decidedly condemned colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism, racism, apartheid and Zionism.

We are leaving with the conviction that our work together at the WFDY forum and the approved program will contribute to the further success of all the youth forces of progress.

[Article by Antoni Olczak and Grzegorz Lubczyk]

9934

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STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN 3 MAY EVENTS CONSIDERED

Warsaw Teachers' Opinions

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11 May 82 pp 1,2

[Opinions gathered by W. Gladykowski, J. Leszczynska, S. Pawlicki, A. Borycki, W. Syzdek and A. Witkowska: "In the Opinions of Teachers: An Alarming Signal"]

[Text] The events of 3 May in Warsaw and other cities are a topic of continuing discussions, commentaries and evaluations. From information obtained from the press spokesman of the Warsaw Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia, Maj Witold Zawadski, it appears that the forces of law and order have arrested 286 persons. In this group there were over 100 students from upper elementary and middle schools--the majority of students, however, came from general high schools and vocational schools.

Since young people predominated in the demonstrations and riots, we have asked teachers in Warsaw schools to evaluate the facts. This is what they had to say:

[Marek Drozdowski, vice-principal of Zamojski General High School 18] These attacks were inspired by adults. The young people did not think this up by themselves. I suspect that some of them went there out of curiosity, out of the desire to get into trouble or out of thoughtlessness. Parents do not spend enough time talking and discussing things with their children. The influence of the home and friends is the most crucial. Of course, the school is the official agency representing authority for the students. I am talking with my students now about these events but, first of all, we want to be in contact with the parents. Without their help the school can do nothing.

[Krzysztof Hanzek, principal of the Malgorzata Fornalska Elementary School] Between the students of middle and elementary schools there is barely a year or two difference, which makes them almost peers. They are constantly in contact with each other. These young people readily imitate their elders and also have examples to follow on television: Scenes of destruction, the breaking of glass

panels, and the excesses in Western countries are often, unfortunately, the model that the children follow. The school is often blamed; nevertheless, we--I am speaking of elementary school teachers--have an influence on the child for 4 to 5 hours daily. But it is the home that is of decisive importance for the upbringing, reactions and attitudes of the young. And here we find tired parents returning home late and sending their son or daughter to watch television off in some corner. Exasperated by the difficulties of the crisis situation, parents are not in any condition to foresee the results of talks and discussions but a child takes this in a completely different way. At this age, it is hard for young people to make sense of anything. Children are often street smart and find for themselves something to do. Street demonstrations are a situation where something new is "happening"--and, in addition, their older colleagues are there and this attracts them."

[Krystyna Jankowska, principal of the Dr. Tutus Chalubinski Medical High School] The desire for adventure, the naivete and even--I would say in a harsher tone--the thoughtlessness of young people are significant. Youth--especially these young people--are particularly sensitive to all kinds of influences and do not know how to analyze in a reasonable way the actual value of the ideas put before them. This era is characterized by extreme radicalism, impatience and the desire to demonstrate one's adulthood. Home life and upbringing also play a large role. Parents do not always stop to think of the consequences that their remarks--at times in careless or loose talk--can have on their children. All the conventions that adults demonstrate are very easily passed on to young people. Young people's participation in street demonstrations is also the fault of some of the teachers who unconsciously or consciously impart to youth their own conceptions, thus fomenting among them a "rebellious" spirit. This also is the result of insufficient supervision and care for the students. In turn, teachers, taking a general view of things, complain of a lack of information. Television does not always give the entire story of what actually took place; in the press one encounters an incorrect interpretation of the situation. How can we teach, direct and elucidate--the teachers ask--when they themselves, after all, do not know very much?

[Romualda Glazewska, teacher of history at the B. Bierut Automotive Schools Group (ZSS) 1] One could have put the students' enthusiasm to good use in commemorating 3 May so as to benefit them. Youth's desire to demonstrate and its ties with the patriotic ideals of our forefathers could have been immortalized--for example, in a solemn gathering at Zamkow Square after obtaining proper consent from administrative authorities. This spectacle could have been organized and carried out by and under the direction of teachers or representatives of youth organizations. In such a situation the action of forces of law and order would amount to isolating groups of hooligans and persons not organized by the youth from the schools.

[Jerzy Bechler, principal of the B. Bierut Automotive Schools Group (ZSS)]
The organizers of the street demonstration were adults who took advantage of the scenario of the situation as it developed. In a perfidious manner these adults beat the young people at cards in realizing their own goals without taking into consideration the great risk involved for the teen-agers.

Adults should absolutely be required to observe the rigors of martial law. But when in contact with youth it is always necessary to count on the possibility of uncontrolled behavior, motivated by emotions. After all these young people are just beginning to form their convictions--besides living in a complicated sociopolitical situation.

It could have been possible to reduce the participation of youth in demonstrations to a minimum by inserting, for example, advance information in the daily TV guide for 2 May on the planned demonstration and its illegal nature. On receiving this information parents would have been able by various means to influence their children's attitudes and the teachers could have organized lectures to clarify matters. Finally, precisely on this day it would have been possible to organize mandatory all-out activities between the hours of 3 and 4 until the parents of the students returned home.

[Irena Respondek, principal of the Jaroslaw Dabrowski General High School 36]
The reason for young people demonstrating on the streets of Warsaw was and still is the general sociopolitical situation in the country. Youth living through this period are not indifferent to it. This discontent with the crisis is felt by them on a daily basis not only at home but at school as well.

After 13 December 1981, in observing young people, I have seen what a heavy experience it has been for them. They were really oppressed and at the same time disciplined by this experience. This was particularly manifested in the interest taken in their studies, the excellent attendance and improved results in their studies. Young people were able and knew how to conform to the obligatory legal ordinances of martial law. But with time martial law became for them, as they say, "the normal thing." Then various kinds of misdemeanors and trancies, as well as tardiness, etc., began.

I am unable to answer the question to what degree young people taking part in the street demonstrations were inspired by adults. Here I have in mind parents, the church and college students. To be sure, older classmates had a large part in this and, perhaps above all, the malevolent Western centers of propagandistic diversion such as Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America or the BBC.

A general sense of exasperation by a society that reacts to youth's lack of confidence in authority has a great effect on attitudes of the young generation. The lamentable fact is that the inspirators of Monday's street demonstrations,

by feeding on the patriotism of young people and the impulsiveness and emotions of our youth under a false cloak of patriotism, have exploited youth for their own antisocialist goals.

[Jolanta Barszczewska-Opaszek, principal of Marcelli Nowotko Elementary School 18] Children ranging in ages from 12 to 15 participating in street demonstrations should be an alarming signal to us. For these young people were inspired by adults who remained on the "sidelines", they were carried away by their emotions and were subject to a general psychosis of destruction and devastation and a trampling of national symbols. Certainly for a majority of them this was an amusement but a very dangerous amusement. That is why one has to underline the common viciousness in the action of these people who used children for their own goals.

[Ryszard Bodzioch, principal of the Construction Schools Group 2 in Warsaw] These incidents incline me to believe that parents pay too little attention to their children. By itself this relates to our pedagogical protection--schools must take part of the blame. The third of May has a definite historical and national significance, and yet, as it turns out, young people do not understand the meaning of this day. I would also look rather critically to the activity of the school circles of interests, which often do not put to good use the genuine passions of the young. It is necessary to know them well--"inside and out"--and only on this basis are organizations and circles to be created. I myself have become convinced just in the last several years of this truth. It is necessary to know what the students are interested in. We have now created a so-called classroom panorama. Every class organized an hour for 2 weeks, outside class time. The results were fantastic. Young people chose--we gave them such a chance--what kind of programs served them best. They were successful in seeing that we lost no power--for example, we invited Krzysztof Zanuss. But is this the case everywhere? Young people have profited in their hunger for adventure and real experience.

Demonstrations in Lublin

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11 May 82 pp 1,2

[Article by Włodzimierz Syzdek: "A Bitter Lesson"]

[Text] The third of May 1982--it is evening. At Litewski Square in the center of Lublin, many thousands are gathering under Constitution Monument. Words are directed against representatives of the authorities, martial law and the system of government. Songs resound in the evening air. Repeated appeals to disperse bring no results. The forces of law and order step in. The crowd scatters. Many are arrested. Among these is a group of young people from the famous Jan Zamojski General High School.

The next day the Voivodship National Defense Committee decides to suspend activities at that school.

At the Source of the Trouble

Jan Jamojski General High School has a rich tradition dating to the time between the two world wars. This school has always exhibited a patriotic attitude. It has been schooled in tolerance and respect for the law. Zamojskis have written a beautiful page in the history of the school by taking part in the struggle for independence during World War Two. Many of them died. This is commemorated by the plaque in the school building.

These traditions continued after the war. The school is rated one of the best in Lublin. Every year almost all its graduates go on to college. Most of the young people come to Zamojski from the intellectual spheres of Lublin: children of lawyers, doctors and engineers. In time, they began to set the tone of school life.

Young people coming from these environments are particularly susceptible to all the "new" currents in political life. It is not surprising that already in August 1980 informal groups, presenting various programs and goals of action, began to appear at the school. The group, however, with the greatest influence was the so-called S Committee, which is closely allied with the Central-Eastern Region Board of the NSZZ of Solidarity. Its organizer and head was Z. L., a history teacher--once an ardent activist of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) and a fanatic devotee of Stalinism, who now maintains an attitude marked by enmity to socialism. He has managed to collect several dozen teachers and students. In the S Committee he carried out activities that went beyond union boundaries. He organized the so-called university activities of Solidarity, in which he presented his own assessments and views regarding events in our most recent history. He began to interpret tendentiously such matters as the people coming into power in our country, the Polish-Soviet War in 1920 and the resistance movement during the Second World War.

Being politically ignorant, young people succumbed to their teacher's views. It is no wonder that they took part in actions that he organized. At Z. L.'s instigation, a large group of Zamojskis participated in celebrations observing the 11 November anniversary at Litewski Square, celebrations inspired by the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

In November last year information on the school strike in Lublin took public opinion by surprise. The S Committee at Zamojski did not remain passive toward these events. The high school was one of the first high schools to strike.

At the same time there was a decline in the political organizations' authority at the school. The sparse membership of the Primary Party Organization of the PZPR tried to isolate teachers and students from the community, while from the Polish Scout Union tribe a new creation was started under the title of the Independent Scouting Movement, with its goal of tearing young people from ideological influences of the party.

This was not the only group operating then in the school area. The so-called Entrenchment Movement, closely connected with KNP developed a special activeness. Its members distributed among the students the periodical SZANIEC (Entrenchment), containing material hostile to the existing political system.

The Opposition Is Not Giving In

After 13 December 1981 under conditions of martial law, preventive talks were carried out with some of the most active members of illegal organizations operating in Zamojski. The results of these talks, however, were short-lived. At the end of December a campaign was organized to gather signatures for a petition demanding the release of the then-interned Z. L. On the initiative of some teachers, young people placed flowers below the room in which he worked and were encouraged to wear black as a protest. Likewise there was a boycott of the history lessons taught by the new teacher who replaced Z. L. In place of these lessons it was proposed to the young people that they take part in secret instruction in private homes of lecturers from Lublin educational institutions who were in opposition to the government. Once again historical knowledge was presented to the young people in such a way as to cause anti-Soviet and antisocialist feelings.

The first half of February brought significant activization of the opposition forces in Lublin. Young people from Zamojski then participated in acts of protest against martial law. Emblems of the Polish eagle with a crown were placed here and there at the school to agitate in favor of freeing Z. L. and other internees. Illegal literature and press continued to be distributed among the students.

At that time periodicals such as "Word and Deed," published by the Polish Resistance Movement connected with KPN, and bulletins of information signed by Solidarity got into the hands of young people.

Toward the end of April leaflets calling for a boycott of celebrations of Work Day and for participation in protest action on 3 May, appeared at Zamojski.

On the eve of 1 May, a Citizens' Militia (MO) arrested three students from Zamojski, including the leader of the school self-governing body, who were

painting signs slandering state authorities and the army. This same group had earlier torn down the red flag hung in front of the Lyceum and replaced it with a black one. The remaining members of illegal organizations operating on the school grounds called on their colleagues to participate en masse in the demonstrations of 3 May at Litewski Square. Only a part of the students yielded to this summons. These were, however, the most actively opposed to the authorities. Their provocative attitude during the demonstrations caused the authorities to suspend classes.

The Guilty and Their Accomplices

On 5 May a special committee took up the task of examining the causes of the situation that had been developing for several months. Talks with young people pointed to real educational shortcomings.

Dr. Piotr Krzyszych, principal of the Science and Education Department of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, stated that "in this case it is not the fault of the young people." In this school there were no organizations actively concerned with forming socialist attitudes of the youth nor were the students' most pressing problems discussed. The ideologues of the political opposition filled this void by suggesting definite opinions and critiques.

Mass participation by young people from the schools in the 3 May demonstration was met with indignation by a significant part of Lublin's society. In many pronouncements there was a point-blank demand for dissolving the most active schools and directing their students to other educational institutions.

A truck factory worker, whom we happened to meet, said that "young people from the so-called best homes go to Zamojski. Students who are well-off and often possessing much money are bored with obtaining knowledge. They prefer to come out against the state. This example comes from above--from adults who support these activities."

"No one tried to explain to the youth the errors of their ways. No one attempted to counter the hostile influences on the school grounds," Janusz G., a retired teacher said. But, of course, suspending studies could and should have been avoided.

What Do the Students Think

The matter of suspending classes came as a big surprise to the majority of students of Zamojski who had not been engaged in political activity. We had random encounters with third-year students who agreed to give their own interpretations of the latest events--under the condition of anonymity.

"In part, our colleagues' participation in the demonstration was more of an expression of surrendering themselves to their emotions than a conscious act," Jacek K. thought. "The majority of us tried not to be subjected to the influences of those colleagues who were urging us to come out against the authorities. We were simply not told of their program and methods."

"Of course, everyone has the right to his own views and opinions," added Krzysztof L. "Why didn't we also protest against Z. L.'s kind of teaching of history. Finally, thanks to him we got to know a lot of facts that were not in our program but which we needed to know in order to orient ourselves with the problems of our reality."

"Let us deal with the fact that several of our colleagues acted contrary to the law," Slawomir R. said. "They must face the consequences. We, however, do not want their attitude to be reflective of the whole school."

Parents Are on the Sidelines

Two days after classes were suspended, a council of the members of the Parents' Committee was held. Representatives of the Lublin educational authorities at the school decided not to allow reporters into the conference. On the basis of conversations in the corridors and the behavior of some parents, one could conclude that many were in the school for the first time and that they were surprised by the whole thing. Voices from behind closed doors repeated this same theme. Every now and again an irritated parent would leave the conference room, usually without wanting to talk about the affair. Only a few parents agreed to express their opinion and then anonymously.

"We did not know about the political activity carried on at the school," a father of a student in the third class stated. "Why, yes, opinions reached us that some teachers possessed different kinds of views but in our opinion this did not reflect upon the level or efficiency of instruction."

"Many of us, for lack of time, were not interested in what and how things were being said in school," another parent added. "But, of course, this is the business of the educational authorities. It is they who ought to eliminate those teachers who are not good educators."

"No one attempted to explain to us the problem of the young people's participation in the demonstrations," the father of a candidate for a secondary school certificate stated. "We don't understand why classes are suspended just before the final examination. This is a typical example of applying collective responsibility."

What's Ahead

An investigation of several of the most active students in the events described is underway. For the remaining students, suspension of classes should be an adequate lesson. The lesson, after all, is not only for them but also for their parents and teachers. There is the hope that they understand the necessity of cooperation in the process of forming young people's attitudes and that finally a uniform system of education will emerge.

After some of the teachers who have been most set against the educational authorities leave, at least the general climate at Zamojski will change. The new principal, Henryk Kwietniewski said, "We must try our best to speak frankly with our youth by presenting them all the problems of our reality, even the most difficult ones, so that these young people do not have to look for answers that are tormenting them from the enemies of socialism. We are also taking up educational work with the pedagogical staff. Our school must be a place for forming social attitudes of youth and there can be no departures from this principle."

Classes at Zamojski returned to normal on 10 May. At last, classes are having final exams; the remaining classes are making up for lost time. Slowly everything is returning to normal.

9866

CSO: 2600/600

ZSMP PROPOSES CREATION OF YOUTH CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION

Commission Working Principles

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 Aug 82 p 1,2

[Article by J. Szewczyk: "Building Unity"]

[Text] On 10 August in Warsaw, at a joint meeting of the Presidium of the Main Board of the ZSMP, the Main Audit Commission, and the Executive Office, which was conducted by Jerzy Jaskiernia, the chairman of the Main Board of the ZSMP, a position was adopted concerning cooperation among youth organizations. It reads as follows:

The management of the ZSMP Main Board, motivated by concern for a solution to youth's most vital problems in the Spirit of the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee, and in order to build unity among the younger generation, proposes the creation of a Consultative Commission of Socialist Polish Youth Unions.

The object of the Commission's interest should be the formation of young people's ideological attitudes, and the problems of young people's start in life and in a profession, as well as other issues important to the younger generation.

The proposed principles for the work of the Commission are as follows:

- a) the Commission is to work collectively;
- b) the Commission is to be composed of five representatives delegated by each of the socialist youth unions;
- c) a meeting of the Commission is to be convened at the initiative of one of the socialist youth unions at least once a year;

- d) the subject of the Commission's discussions can be issues which all of the youth unions agree are to be brought before the forum of the Commission;
- e) upon the announcement of a decision to hold a meeting of the Commission, a working group will be created, consisting of an equal number of representatives from the individual unions, in order to prepare for the meeting of the Commission;
- f) the Commission will be jointly chaired by the heads of the socialist youth unions;
- g) the principle of unanimity is binding when resolutions are adopted, and in voting, each organization has one vote.
- h) the Commission's activities do not limit the sovereignty of the individual socialist youth unions, in accordance with their statutory rights.

The Main Board of the ZSMP, the Main Headquarters of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union], the Supreme Council of the SZSP, and the National Board of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] are to decide on joining the Commission at their own meetings. The Commission will exist when the last of the socialist youth unions has publicly announced a resolution on joining the Commission. The Commission is subject to dissolution when one of the socialist youth unions publishes a resolution on withdrawing from the Commission.

It should be noted that in the near future the following problems should be the center of the Commission's interest:

- drawing up a joint position on the issue of the structure and area of jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers Committee on Youth;
- drawing up a draft Law on Youth;
- forming a joint position on the issue of the legal form of the rights of the socialist youth unions which were announced in the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

We call upon the members of the ZSMP, as well as the members of the ZHP, SZSP, and ZMW, to take part in the discussion of the above concept.

ZSMP Official Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Krzysztof Janik, secretary of the Main Board of the ZSMP, by J. Szewczyk]

[Text] We asked Krzysztof Janik, the secretary of the ZSMP Main Board, for a short conversation on the subject of the position that was adopted.

[Question] In December 1981, the plenum of the National Board of the ZMW issued an appeal for the creation of a platform for cooperation among the socialist youth organizations. Is your position a response to that appeal?

[Answer] It is not a response to the appeal, but rather a concrete position, a precise statement of views on many issues. It is also a finalization of the concept for cooperation in the youth movement that we included in the resolution from the Third Congress of the ZSMP, and later at the Sixth Plenum of the Main Board of the ZSMP.

[Question] Why are you only adopting this position now?

[Answer] There were various reasons. Earlier, the youth organizations were concerned with consolidating their own ranks. Since the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, when most of the matters proposed by us were included in the resolutions, for example the concept of a Committee for Youth, we have begun to think about the institutional structure for cooperation.

[Question] That does not sound best, since it is directly associated with the past, the federation, officials, and so forth.

[Answer] The commissions should be exclusively societal bodies, bodies where positions will be coordinated. They should not have any regular posts or administration.

[Question] Coordinate positions with respect to whom--the Committee for Youth?

[Answer] That too. The Commission's voice should be an amplification of the voice of the youth organizations.

[Question] Won't you get into a situation in which each organization will put forward its own positions on this question, while the statutory heads of these organizations will still not be able to meet?

[Answer] Our position is directed both to the members of the ZSMP and to the leaderships of the other three organizations. It is my opinion that by the end of August we will know the opinion of our members and of the leaderships of the three organizations.

[Question] To what extent has the adoption of this position been influenced by the fact that in many voivodeships there are various commissions and committees subordinate to the voivodes, that bring together representatives of all of the organizations?

[Answer] To date, such cooperation exists in 14 voivodeships. These committees have arisen on the basis of various principles and in different ways. Generally, however, this has been a question of several separate tasks carried out by all of the organizations. For our part, we would like the main object of this cooperation to be equalizing the start in life of young people from different environments. I think that such a list of the most urgent issues will be formulated after the Commission is convened.

9909

CSO: 2600/852

PRESENT AND FUTURE OF SZSP

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9-11 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Barbara Sadlowska: "Current, Future Concerns--Problems in the Student Movement"]

[Text] The abbreviation is expanded: Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP). Historical explanation: the all-Polish academic youth organization was created in 1973 in place of the following previous school youth organizations: Association of Polish Students (ZSP), Union of Socialist Youth (ZMS) and Rural Youth Union (ZMW). Formerly, it was the only advocate for student opinions and affairs. As of August 1980, it acted as either a rival or partner for all newly created school organizations. Lately, it again has an official monopoly--actually between "heaven and earth"--in other words, somewhere in the middle. It is neither with the top nor with the masses. How does the student union leadership evaluate this situation? According to Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the supreme council of SZSP:

"The condition of the organization is not the best. The suspension period during martial law weakened many structures. The last plenum confirmed the union's political line that had been prepared at the 3rd SZSP Congress. This line was characterized by complete realism and took a firm stand under specific conditions of the student community. We see the need for SZSP's and the young intelligentsia's activity. For example, there are attempts to participate in solving problems of the student community such as the scholarship system, reforms, employment, new functions of higher schools as related to economic reforms. and reduction in the number of students.

Forced by events, SZSP went back to its function of being the only student organization, but it does not want to be and cannot be--the community's sphere of influence does not permit this--it is not and does not want to be a monopoly. Today SZSP is representing its members. However, in view of the 4th Congress which will take place in November of this year, there is a growing conviction in SZSP that new structural solutions are needed. To begin with, due to the diversity of the community, there is, at the moment, no formula that could be a key to stimulate the whole student community.

This activity is not great and never was. In 1981, approximately 50-60 percent of the community, despite the intense political fighting that was going on at the schools, was not involved in any organization; therefore, this was not caused by the existence of martial law. There are, however, potential forces for stimulating social activity under martial law. Perhaps the changes in the structure will release this potential. SZSP will look for it. The 70's period was dominated by the need for unification. Until the 3rd Congress, SZSP was active as an ideological-educational organization and at the same time as a trade union. After that, a minority organization system dominated by SZSP and the National Student Union (NZS) was established. Today an analysis of this phenomenon is necessary.

An analysis of the objective processes which we are witnessing and in which we are participating allows us to maintain that it would be useful in the near future to create an organization with explicit, non-overlapping functions adapted to the current and future requirements and needs of the student community. (Taken from the materials of the 4th SZSP Congress Programming Team.)

Currently, one may notice attempts to create groups—referred to as platforms-- (a model proposed at the 3rd SZSP Congress) under the framework of SZSP; these groups should work out their own models of student organizations. Among others, a platform was established at the club "Sigma" of Warsaw University and forms the nucleus of a political aktiv. A similar platform was created at the Faculty of Journalism, Warsaw University (UW), i.e., a Marxist group, the Socialist Union of Academic Youth (SZMA). The Krakow platform sees its future activity as allied with the traditions of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP); the Lublin platform sees its activity as preserving existing forms and as a continuation of SZSP."

However, what is the union authorities' platform? Ireneusz Nawrocki answers:

"We do not have a moral right to engage in discussion on the future shape of the organization. We are creating only its framework. A social-vocational organization should arise and should create the conditions for 'academic left wing' activity. We are only at the beginning of this process. One month after discussions began, the platform program already had begun to take shape.

It may happen that SZSP will cease to exist, and there will not be any other organization. Self-government will remain. However, on the basis of the evolution of the student movement in People's Poland, we think that it would be harmful to go back to a self-government phase. The only guarantee of self-government is a student organization. We have no right to fall below the level of an all-Polish student organization."

"We will not suggest any specific issues," says Ireneusz Nawrocki. "We should however, adopt directional decisions allowing the community itself, the social movement, and youth organizations to solve the problems. We should not expect big promises; for example, an academic cooperative movement is unacceptable. We should allow the youth movement to have the right to initiate solutions outside the organizational structure, among other things, in regard to the economy.

The Central Committee Plenum should give an answer by ideological categories—those are the expectations of the SZSP aktiv. The answer to the questions: what kind of Poland do we have? Is it petit bourgeois? bourgeois? socialistic? What ideological views of the young generation are essential for the educational process? An honest statement by the party and determination of the relationship: party--youth movement.

We are also expecting some solutions to essential problems in the student community: the functions of higher education and the overall national education system. The plenum should evaluate these issues.

Despite the current discussions in the Union and the situation to which it is currently functioning—reduced membership and the diminished social acceptance of SZSP and its activity in its community, antipathy and apathy toward organized structures, more rigorous regulations for students under martial law—we cannot wait for better times to solve the basic problems of academic youth. The number one issue is the scholarship system reform; it has not been solved so far, even though it will be in effect at the beginning of the new academic year. The draft plan of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology (MSzWNiT) envisages, as it is well known, repayable loans. This is absolutely unacceptable in the academic community. A draft counterplan was proposed by SZSP. It gives even the poorest a chance to study without long-term credit obligations. This plan also avoids so-called "concealed subsidies" which widen the discrepancies in student incomes; it has as its primary principle a just distribution of funds.

In January of this year a draft plan regarding employment was introduced and discussed in Sejm [parliament] committees and in the Office of the Council of Ministers. Instead of the previous "employment plan" ordered by the administration for graduates, a new law, the need for which was advanced at the 3rd SZSP Congress, will approve free job selection and will introduce competition for job positions, thereby giving everyone a chance to find work even as workers or technicians. It would allow the establishment of associations, service outlets, and cooperatives.

The issues "for today" also include problems regarding student families. The number of married students is estimated at 25,000, and their children, at about 10,000. This last figure caused pediatric care to be added to student health care teams. This year, SZSP also increased the number of vacations for families with children. As in every year, the student campaign "Summer" (LATO) is in the process of preparation."

(Note from the author: The above article is an attempt to report on a press conference which took place in June of this year at the Main Board of SZSP. I used its theme in the title of this publication. (BS))

12199
CSO: 2600/814

FINANCIAL AID SYSTEM PROPOSED

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9-11 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Wieslaw Debski: "Financial Aid System Proposed--Are We Going to Have Greater Justice?"]

[Text] The state provides approximately 2 million [sic] zloty a year in financial aid to students; twice this amount is subsidized to maintain dormitories and cafeterias. These funds should fulfill the social requirements for the higher education of poor youth, should balance material disproportions and help to raise scholastic results.

The presently valid principles for distributing this aid is commonly criticized in academic circles. It is thought that they are not very just, because they include aid to those who are not badly off and are not flexible enough, since they do not keep pace with changes in the income and price structure. These principles of distribution do not properly motivate conscientious study and, above all, timely graduation.

Study on Credit?

Work on the new system of financial assistance lasted for a year. In the spring of this year two proposals were discussed in academic circles. The first was presented by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology (MNSzWiT), and the second, by the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (RN SZSP).

The Ministry draft plan provided that education in higher schools and the use of facilities and health care would be free of charge. The students would obtain reduced rates for cultural services and municipal transportation. However, other services related mainly to the students' standard of living would be provided on credit by the State.

It was proposed that instead of the existing scholarship grant, students could borrow the money from the State but not in excess of the lowest salary in the socialized economy. In turn, these loans would have to be paid off within eight years after graduation. It was also proposed to make the loans dependent on academic performance so that the loans to students who earn diplomas with distinction and with very good or good grades would be written off in the amount of 100, 75, and 50 percent, respectively.

For the neediest students, such as orphans and the handicapped, monthly allowances requiring no repayment were stipulated.

It was also proposed to introduce the principle of self-financing of student dormitories. Student payments would be equal to the full cost of the upkeep of one place in a student dormitory at the higher school level.

This proposal met decisive student opposition. The RN SZSP resolution states: "in our opinion the draft system for financial aid of the MNSzWiT is not acceptable, since it violates basic constitutional principles of the socialist state, especially the principle of social justice as well as the right to equal opportunity for education for all citizens."

To support their statement, students list many, in my opinion, justified arguments. The most dangerous consequence of implementating this concept is that it further accentuates the disproportion in the social composition of students in higher schools. At higher schools there will be even fewer worker and peasant youth as well as fewer children from large families. This proposal also accentuates inequities in student incomes: for one, a loan will be necessary to buy food in student canteens; for another, a loan will be used to buy gasoline for his car.

Another argument against this concept is the serious difficulties in starting life for the higher school graduate. It is known that they make relatively little money and have, at the same time, many difficulties in finding employment. Following their studies, many of them take young married couple (MM) loans and housing loans. Therefore, they would have great difficulty paying off additional debts.

These are only a few of the objections made against this concept that, in my opinion, are the most important.

This proposal undoubtedly also has advantages. It motivates students to graduate as soon as possible, teaches rational money management and encourages better studies. I think that we will go back to it, when solutions to other problems, such as employment, an appropriate system of selecting students for education, and higher salaries for graduates are found.

Student Opinion

SZSP proposed that the minimum cost of student living and income per family member be assumed as a basis for providing services. SZSP estimated the student cost of living (food, supplementary food, transportation, school aids, clothes, etc.) to be 4,550 zloty last year. For out-of-town students, the cost was respectively higher (apartment cost). Scholarship aid should make up the difference between the cost of living and assistance from the student's family. Students would have to pay full cost of food and housing (2,000 zloty) from those funds. Out-of-town students would be entitled to an allowance to cover their housing costs.

The SZSP draft plan stipulates additional help as well for students with families, handicapped students, chronically ill students, etc.

Overall, this proposal would provide for total equilization of disproportions in student incomes and more just distribution of the yearly subsidized amounts. This is a compact draft plan which takes into consideration all students' expectations. It is not very realistic under the conditions of financial tensions in our country. This draft plan also fails to motivate students to better studies and timely graduation. SZSP explains that those motivations are provided by the employment system which pays bonuses for scientific work and good examination grades.

Compromise Solution

The differences in proposed solutions were very essential. It was necessary to find a solution assuring aid to those who were in the worst financial situation and, at the same time, motivate students to achieve better results in their studies. After discussions, a team composed of Ministry and SZSP representatives worked out a compromise solution. It provides the following forms of financial aid for students: housing and food grant; regular non-repayable allowance; repayable loan; and emergency allowance.

In the draft the proposal to tie scholarships to the cost of living that was introduced by SZSP was partly considered. Consequently, housing and food grants will be provided on the basis of full current costs of food in canteens and housing in student dormitories that are reduced by the income per student family member. Students who are in an unusually difficult financial situation and come from families in which the income per capita is not higher than the minimum basic emolument will be eligible to receive regular monthly non-repayable allowances in the amount equal to the minimum basic emolument. Within its means, the higher school may allocate to the student monthly loans which must be paid off within ten years after graduation. Loans will be written off for the best students according to the rules described previously.

Besides preserving the principles of aiding students who have the lowest incomes and partially tying the scholarships to the cost of living, one must emphasize the other two solutions which are included in this draft plan. For the first time in the financial aid system (and at the initiative of SZSP), married students and students with dependent children will be eligible to receive financial aid equal to the regular non-repayable allowance. The second innovation envisages that loan payments will be related to the student's future place of employment and that the regions, institutions and kinds of work will be designated. Adoption of this innovation and working for three years will result in writing off of the loans.

Many families, which are badly off, will decide to provide a child with a higher education only if they are guaranteed that their already limited family budget will not be further diminished. Unfortunately, this draft plan does not provide for such guarantees. According to the assumptions, financial aid would not automatically be given to those who are eligible. This assistance may be rendered by the higher school to the extent of its available assets.

This kind of promise is not good enough for either needy peasant families or large families. In those cases, facts count--either money is available or it is not. Therefore, to consider this amendment, the system under discussion would make it possible to reconcile student expectations with the state's financial capacity.

SZSP accepted most of the solutions of this draft plan with a few reservations. It proposes that even now one should consider future additional compensation to workers earnings that would automatically result in a regular increase of income on which scholarships are based. Should the state give up too much authority in granting financial assistance to higher schools, in SZSP's opinion, the state's ability to shape uniform and just social policies in the student domain would be curtailed.

I remind the reader that this is only a draft plan which is still under discussion; it will come into force after ratification by the Council of Ministers.

12199

CSO: 2600/814

BRIEFS

POLISH STUDENTS IN YEMEN--A group of student activists from the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] has returned from a six-week visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The students took part in an international student's solidarity camp, which was organized by the Socialist Union of Yemeni Youth. The camp participants had the opportunity to exchange experiences among the youth of Asia, Africa and Europe. In addition, they worked on the construction of homes for the flood victims who lost their possessions during the catastrophic flood of March 1982. In addition to the SZSP delegation, youth from Czechoslovakia, Finland, Ethiopia, Angola, Pakistan, India, Iraq, Bahrain and Vietnam participated in the camp. The undertaking was patronized by the International Students' Union. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/917 4

TANASE AFFAIR DAMAGES ROMANIAN-FRENCH RELATIONS

Mitterrand Visit Canceled

Paris LE MATIN in French 28 Jul 82 p 10

[Article by Bernard Poulet, LE MATIN special correspondent in Bucharest: "Mitterrand Will Not Go to Romania"]

[Text] Francois Mitterrand will not be going to Romania next September. French Minister of State for Foreign Trade Michel Jobert confirmed this yesterday to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu whom he met on the shores of the Black Sea.

Officially, it is only a postponement due to the very heavy schedule of the French president, but it appears evident that the background to this decision is the deterioration of French-Romanian relations, aggravated by the disappearance in France last May of Virgil Tanase, a Romanian-born writer.

French-Romanian relations should continue to develop "free from the swirling of current events or the festivities of nations." With these few select and diplomatic words, Michel Jobert, who had just spent 48 hours in Romania, had endeavored to make his interlocutors understand that, indeed, Francois Mitterrand would not be going to their country in September.

He was answering First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea who had just hailed his arrival in Bucharest "on the eve of Francois Mitterrand's visit to Romania." For up to the very last moment Romanian officials had acted as if the French president's visit was really to take place, as if there had been no Tanase affair.

Nevertheless, in his press conference last June in which he mentioned the disappearance of the Romanian-born writer, Francois Mitterrand had clearly explained that "if it were proven--a tragic hypothesis--that Mr Tanase had disappeared and was not to reappear, then that would seriously damage the nature of relations between Romania and France."

The chief of state undoubtedly had reflected at length and had left Romanian officials time to make a gesture, so much was he personally determined to preserve the historic ties between Bucharest and Paris. On 14 July, Marcel Beaux, French ambassador to Romania, still thought it possible to confirm on television the forthcoming visit of the chief of state. For it was only on Wednesday, on his return from Latche, that Francois Mitterrand made his decision known to [Minister of External Relations] Claude Cheysson. The long-awaited Romanian gesture had apparently not come about.

Romania's disappointment is evident. While the Nicolae Ceausescu regime is being severely criticized abroad both for its catastrophic economic results and for its deplorable human rights policy, Francois Mitterrand's trip was perceived as an opportunity to regain a seriously damaged respectability.

France, however, had no reason to give the Romanians a present. The results of economic cooperation between the two countries are at the least disappointing. During his entire trip and during the discussions of the French-Romanian joint committee, Michel Jobert, without any illusions, had to make an effort to disentangle the web of disputes. The most spectacular was undoubtedly the case of the OLT-CIT [expansion unknown] automobile plant, built by Citroen, which has already cost France 2 billion francs. The project is now 2 years late, production is still dormant and the models, whose cost price, according to Citroen, is not competitive, are in danger of becoming obsolete the day they go on sale. If they are ever built....

The French minister of foreign trade did not really hope for a miracle. The Romanian foreign debt is well over 10 billion dollars, and despite the moratorium that the Club of Paris is ready to grant it, Romania, has, in fact, suspended payments.

Since he did not want his visit to be "won over" by the Romanian regime, yesterday Michel Jobert had, moreover, taken care to present Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Andrei with a list of humanitarian cases that are of concern to France. Broken families, children, adopted by French, who could never leave Romania, and three cases of "disappearance" of Romanian opposition personalities: Father Calciu, trade union official and Vasile Paraschiv, and....the writer, Virgil Tanase.

Possible Involvement of Securitate

Paris LE MONDE in French 31 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Michel Bole-Richard: "The Virgil Tanase Affair"]

[Text] The cancellation of Mr Mitterrand's scheduled visit to Romania in September--officially, a mere "postponement" is being mentioned (LE MONDE 29 July)--is undoubtedly partly linked to the disappearance of the dissident writer Virgil Tanase, a Frenchman of Romanian origin. For more than 2 months there has been no news of him, and many feel that the Romanian secret services are involved in this affair which, like the latter, became an affair of state.

Mr Virgil Tanase was seen for the last time on Ascension Day, 20 May. On that day, he left his home in Paris early in the morning. He had a rendezvous near the Luxembourg Garden with a man who was scheduled to give him a translation job. Life is not always easy for exiles from the Eastern countries and earning enough on which to subsist is not an easy thing.

Arriving in France in 1977, he subsequently became a naturalized French citizen. He is married and the father of two small children. His mother had arrived from Romania the day before. She saw her son for only one single day. Since 29 May, there has been no news of this 36-year-old novelist, teacher in a theatrical school, who worked for a publishing firm. The man who was to meet him waited in vain. What has become of Virgil Tanase? Is he dead or alive?

"If the Writer Were To Disappear, Men Would Become Things"

At once, the Romanian secret services--the Securitate--were suspected of having kidnapped this dissident who never did mince words on the regime of Mr Nicolae Ceausescu. In January, he had once again written and signed a fierce indictment appearing in the newspaper ACTUEL against the Romanian leader and his wife, entitled "His Majesty Ceausescu I, Communist King." He charged the "Ceausescu clan" with exploiting his country, and he noted: "Party power is perceived as a form of foreign occupation. For 35 years Romania has been living in the age of Vichy." And, further on, "The best key to the Ceausescu regime is perhaps that which a prominent Romanian writer, Al Ivasluc--I dare cite his name only because he is dead--proposes to us: 'We are 22 million men and women living in the subconscious of a mad man.'"

As it is known that the Romanian chief of state is very much concerned about his image, eyes were at once turned toward Bucharest the day after the disappearance. Four days later, a preliminary investigation against X...for the illegal arrest and illegal confinement of an individual was opened by the public prosecutor's department of the Paris court and entrusted to Mr Jean-Louis Debre, examining judge. The police searched and found nothing. Many hypotheses were put forward. It was then that the AFP published a telegram in which it let it be understood that the Romanian writer perhaps maintained relations with the French counterespionage services (DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance]). A piece of evidence: Mrs Doina Tanase--the writer's wife--was accompanied by two DST inspectors when she went to lodge the complaint. False propaganda and slander whose source has not been determined but which is to be linked to the interview given by the writer Virgil Gherorghiu to Jacques Lebeau, FIGARO-MAGAZINE correspondent, on 14 February 1981, in which another dissident writer, Paul Goma, was clearly suspected of being a "troublesome agent," playing the game of the Romanian Government. An assertion that resulted in Mr Paul Goma filing a libel suit which was dismissed by the courts.

As far as Virgil Tanase is concerned, the harm had been done since confusion had been sown, while it is a publicly known fact that refugees from the East have a DST telephone number that they can call in case of difficulties or threats. There were a few demonstrations to protest the writer's disappearance. Then nothing more until 9 June when Mr Mitterrand stated the following in a press conference: "If it were proven--a tragic hypothesis--that Mr Tanase had disappeared and was not to reappear, then that would seriously damage the nature of relations between Romania and France." For the chief of state, things were clear and the warning very plain.

The next day, the Romanian Embassy in Paris published a communique denying that "Romania was involved, in any way or form, in the Virgil Tanase affair." Since then, it is probable that there have been negotiations at the highest level between French and Romanian officials. They undoubtedly did not succeed since the president of the republic has just postponed sine die the trip he was scheduled to make to Romania at the end of September. At least that is the analysis that one can be expected to make following this postponement that gives this disappearance the dimensions of an affair of state. A disappearance that brings to mind the kidnaping of the Moroccan opposition leader Mehdi Ben Barka. With this difference, namely that a French citizen was kidnaped on national territory by men whom we have every reason to believe belong to a foreign secret service.

Taking a Break?

The criminal investigation unit responsible for the case has not picked up any kind of indication on which it can base its investigations. Because of the lack of information, the police have been reduced to making hypotheses. Was the author of "Apocalypse of an Adolescent from a Good Family" able to find shelter? Following the publication of the article in the magazine ACTUEL, Virgil Tanase felt threatened. He had confided this to several of his French friends, asking them if they had a country house, but had never spoken about this to his wife. It has not been possible to make contact with the writer's family, and close friends of the disappeared writer believe that she too are in a safe place, under police protection [sentence as published].

Other factors support the hypothesis of a voluntary disappearance. Factors founded on a rumor give the impression that the Romanian secret services had contacted French hoodlums to kidnap Virgil Tanase. These hoodlums reportedly were uncovered by police or had themselves volunteered information about their mission to the police. Virgil Tanase allegedly was then called on "to take a break" for a while.

It is known that Securitate had already used the services of French hoodlums to accomplish their dirty deeds. An example was furnished on 28 July 1981 in Munich when a Romanian dissident who worked with Radio Free Europe, a Mr Emil Georgescu, was attacked by two men right on a street and stabbed 22 times. One of them cut the tendons of both hands and then told him, "Now try and write!" Mr Georgescu survived and his aggressors were arrested shortly afterward. They were two French gangsters, Gerard Layani and Claude

Cottenceau. On 21 July they were sentenced by the Munich court to 11 and 4-1/2 years imprisonment respectively. During the trial, which lasted 3 months, they never admitted working for the Romanian secret services, using as a pretext some dismal story of procuring and the theft of jewelry in which the Radio Free Europe journalist had not been "on the level."

"Securitate"

What acceptance can be given to the thesis of a voluntary disappearance? The postponement of Mr Mitterrand's trip would tend to prove that at the highest government levels, it is believed that Virgil Tanase is in the hands of the Romanians.

The decision of the chief of state would therefore constitute a second warning, following the one made at his press conference. A warning that leads one to believe that something can still be done to save Virgil Tanase. There is a feeling in police circles that the writer is still alive and that he is perhaps on French soil. A very fragile feeling that rests on nothing specific, just some signs. The president of the republic had promised that he would make public "his conclusion." He still has not done so. Is there some hope?

A tough battle has been engaged with the Romanian authorities. The Securitate has never had a reputation for handing out gifts. Bernard Poulet, a journalist for LE MATIN DE PARIS, who sought to meet a trade unionist in Romania, Vasile Paraschiv, knows something about this. He was literally beaten up. Paul Goma and two other Romanian dissidents, who had gone to Madrid to denounce the breaches in human rights in Romania before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, received a parcel bomb at their domicile a few days later. Two of them were wounded in the explosion. Only Paul Goma was not hurt, but a police ordnance officer was slightly wounded while dismantling the explosive device.

Must we also cite the case of Mrs Monica Lovinescu who was beaten up right in front of her Paris home, undoubtedly because she contributed to the Radio Free Europe broadcasts. According to Paul Goma, this was the work of Syrians. It seems that it is a rather frequent thing to use the collaboration of nationals of other "friendly countries" in exchange for certain services. Paul Goma has denounced the "campaign for the physical liquidation" organized by a unit of Securitate specially responsible for avenging the insults and abuses against the Romanian chief of state.

He also protests the malicious insinuations elaborated to discredit Romanian exiles by implying that, in reality, they are agents working for Romania. At his trial in Munich, Paul Goma was outraged that he could be asked for the origin of his name, which for him meant that he was thought to be Jewish. According to him, this statement should be related to what he describes as "the state anti-Semitism of Romania."

So many examples that show that the French authorities are far from having won the fight. A stake on which the fate of one man depends, a man who in September 1978 wrote in NOUVELLES LITTERAIRES, "If the writer were to disappear, men would become things." The writer has disappeared.

5671

CSO: 3100/884

FOREIGN TRADE ACTIVITY, WORKERS CRITICIZED

AU081200 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Aug 82 p 3

[Editorial article: "On Perfecting Foreign Trade Activities, Enhancing the Responsibility of Employees in This Area, and the Latter's Work Style, Political, Moral and Professional Traits"]

[Text] In the years of socialist construction, Romania has achieved successes of historic importance in its socioeconomic development and in building the new system. Today our country presents itself as an industrial-agrarian country with a powerful and highly technical industry and a socialist agriculture in the full process of mechanization. All this is the result of the heroic and devoted work performed by all our people who are resolutely implementing the party policy of building socialism and communism in our fatherland. All this is the result of the devotion and competence with which the working people in towns and villages are acting to implement the programs adopted by the party with a view to intensively developing the national economy, science, education and culture and to improving our people's material and cultural living standard.

There is no more beautiful and noble sentiment than the knowledge that one is the citizen of a free and independent fatherland that--under RCP leadership--is strongly asserting peace and a constructive vocation and that, thanks to its achievements and its active policy of peace and cooperation, has won great prestige among the world nations. There is no more beautiful and more elevating sentiment than the knowledge that one is the citizen of a country that, through the work, diligence and skill of its sons--complete masters of their destiny--is shaping its free and happy future in a dignified manner.

The party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism is opening up wonderful prospects for all our people. It depends on our work and efforts and on how we manage and make use of the country's riches and our people's work that socialist Romania may become increasingly powerful and flourishing and that it may offer increasingly better and dignified living conditions for all its inhabitants. Patriotism and the sense of responsibility toward the fatherland and toward its bright future must be reflected today in the work performed by our people and in the responsibility with which each citizen acts at his work place to increase the national wealth and to implement the country's development programs and the targets set forth by the party with a view to Romania's constant advance on the

road of progress and socialist civilization. As owner, producer and direct end user of everything that is being produced in our fatherland through the work of our entire nation, it is each citizen's and each working man's basic duty and, at the same time, noble patriotic duty to do all he can to contribute with his complete work ability to commendably fulfilling the plan tasks and to constantly improving the material and cultural values made available to all our people by our society. For this purpose and in conformity with the 12th party congress decisions, we must ensure quality and highly efficient work in all branches of the national economy, in each enterprise and each work place and we must ensure that material resources, financial funds and the part of the national wealth entrusted to the people are managed with maximum responsibility.

This important demand applies with particular urgency to the working people in the foreign trade sector. Foreign trade and international economic cooperation constitute one of the most important aspects of our economic activity and of the policy practiced by our party and socialist state, a policy aimed at the country's general development and improving the people's well-being. As a result of implementing the party program of building a dynamic, modern, efficient and competitive economy, our foreign trade volume has increased and Romania is more and more actively participating in the international exchange of material values. Today we have economic and trade partners in more than 150 countries in the world; we possess modern techniques and advanced technologies, we have well-trained workers and specialists able to ensure a constant and sustained increase in Romanian exports and the overall foreign trade activity; our international economic and technical cooperation ventures are constantly diversifying and expanding and our enterprises demonstrate that they can compete at any time with companies of world repute.

The current, unprecedented scope of our foreign trade and the tangible conditions in which foreign economic relations are developing require the maximum sense of responsibility and a high professional training on the part of all workers and specialists engaged in producing and marketing Romanian products. The mission and responsibility of foreign trade workers is to ensure a proper marketing of Romanian products in international markets. Achieving an increasingly higher efficiency in foreign trade decisively depends on how each worker in that sector acts, it depends on his skill and professional training and on the devotion and responsibility with which he fulfills the great mission of trust given to him by the people and our socialist state, namely to represent our country's interests in international economic relations.

Certainly, work in this sector is neither simple nor easy; it requires first and foremost a thorough professional and political training, a spirit of initiative, the ability to orient oneself and the power to grasp and comprehend things and it requires in particular a sense of noble patriotic responsibility and an unswerving determination to promote our country's and people's interests in any circumstances. This, all the more so since at the moment the foreign trade activity is taking place under particularly complex and complicated international conditions. It is a fact that today the world economic crisis has strongly sharpened the struggle for spheres of influence and domination, for sources of raw materials and for markets. In this struggle, countries make more and more

frequent use of the practices of the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of discriminatory economic measures and pressure, economic sanctions and of various restrictions and obstacles in international trade. The practice of embargoes, of high interest rates, the policy of prices and tariffs and of setting up quotas raises increasingly significant obstacles in the development of free and unrestrained international trade, accentuates world economic instability and constantly sharpens the struggle for and competition in markets. All this has both direct and indirect repercussions on the atmosphere and the conditions in which foreign trade and international economic exchanges are taking place.

It is therefore natural that under such conditions particularly exacting tasks devolve on the foreign trade activity and on all working people who are active in that sector both regarding their professional training and capability, their level of competence and initiative, and regarding the devotion and responsibility with which they promote the country's interests in foreign trade relations. This, all the more so since analyses recently made by the party-state leadership revealed that grave failings and shortcomings have occurred in the important area of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, due both to violation of current laws and regulations, and to dishonesty and inaccuracy, abuses and transgressions incompatible with the status and responsibilities of foreign trade employees. Because of the irresponsibility and dishonesty of certain foreign trade cadres, which in some cases were compounded by deficient quality of goods and nonobservance of contract terms, Romanian products showed losses in international markets. Certain Romanian products--of the light industry, machine-building and even the oil industry--were marketed at lower than international prices, which inflicted great losses on the national economy. If our laws and regulations had always been implemented, if there had been firm discipline and greater responsibility in the production and marketing of export goods, our foreign trade returns would have been at least 20-30 percent higher. Naturally, a great share of the responsibility is to be traced to the manufacturing enterprises and ministries, which should have met foreign market requirements more efficiently and should have produced and delivered products which were competitive from the viewpoint of quality and technical level, as well as production costs and economic efficiency.

Everything must be done, so that such a situation will not recur. It is necessary for us to take more determined action to substantially increase efficiency in our foreign trade and to properly capitalize on Romanian export products. For this purpose, we must give priority attention to the training and competence of cadres active in foreign trade, to strengthening discipline and the responsibility with which they fulfill the tasks and duties entrusted to them.

What Should the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation Do and What Action Should It Take

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation is directly responsible for increasing export efficiency and for properly marketing Romanian products in world markets. Thus, it must be the one to set tasks, to struggle for competitive products and to ensure that productive enterprises yield quality products in accordance with contracts concluded with foreign com-

panies. The ministry is responsible for the uniform implementation of the state's policy in the field of foreign economic relations; therefore it must promote the state's interests, must ensure--within the framework of trade relations with the other countries--the proper marketing of Romanian products, and proper use of our national resources and our people's work.

The supreme criterion for assessing the overall activity by the ministry, the foreign trade enterprises and by the productive foreign trade units must always be effectiveness. We do not export for the sake of exporting, but in order to ensure the material and financial resources for the development and modernization of industry and the other productive sectors and to ensure the socialist fatherland's multifaceted progress and an improvement in our people's general living standard.

A) Proceeding from this basic requirement, the ministry must give priority to strengthening discipline and law in foreign trade. The overall activity must be based on the law on strengthening workers' self-management and economic, financial and foreign currency self-administration in foreign trade and international economic cooperation. The provisions of that law and of all regulations that govern the foreign trade activity must be observed strictly and to the letter; no infringement and not even the slightest violation should be tolerated.

A recent analysis of how party decisions and legal regulations on foreign trade and international economic cooperation are implemented has shown that there have been in this area numerous instances of disarray, crass violations and disregard of the law and a total lack of control, which created fertile ground for particularly grave acts that harmed the state's interests and inflicted heavy damage to the national economy. The leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation--which by law is responsible for the implementation of the coherent party-state policy in this area--failed to rise to the standard of the party tasks, was guilty of great irresponsibility and negligence, and did not exercise strict and systematic control over the work of the ministry cadres; the ministry tolerated violations of the law and even permitted certain unqualified and even dishonest people to be employed in this particularly important sector. That is why it was possible for certain cadres--even managerial cadres--of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, of foreign trade enterprises and production units to commit unacceptable violations against foreign trade laws and regulations, both during negotiations and in the signing and implementation of contracts. Disadvantageous contracts were signed; foreign partners were illegally granted easy terms; goods were delivered without appropriate guarantees and without securing payment warranties for the Romanian suppliers. There have been situations when, due to irresponsible actions by cadres from the ministry leadership or from foreign trade enterprises, contracts were signed with bankrupt firms, with turncoats and with dubious characters who were later arrested for fraud in their own countries--resulting in contracts for which goods were manufactured not being honored, and in some cases, payment for goods delivered not being received. Similarly, due to the incompetence or corruption of certain foreign trade cadres, clearly disadvantageous contracts were accepted offhand and dubious price concessions made against the interests of our national economy. It must be clear-

ly understood that whoever has the power to commit public funds or hard currency may not make up his own laws, at random! Law and order are binding for everybody, beginning with the minister and down to the last worker!

B) The Ministry of Foreign Trade [as published] must ensure that trade laws in various countries and particularly customs regulations, the norms on access to the commodities of the given countries, import and export programs and the requirements of each foreign market must be well known. This is an essential condition for negotiations that are to yield positive results and for concluding advantageous contracts and adopting measures that will increase efficiency in foreign trade.

The ministry must also ensure that the international economic situation and the trends in various markets be studied carefully and systematically. This must result in the ministers and all foreign trade workers having a greater ability to forecast events and promptly orient themselves accordingly. Foreign trade enterprises must know exactly and in good time when and what to sell and to whom; they must know under what conditions to sell Romanian products in order to achieve the best results. Only on the basis of such knowledge and such full and exact information, will the minister and the foreign trade and productive enterprises be able to efficiently establish what is more advantageous to be produced for export, only thus will they be able to plan appropriately and organize a competitive export production that will ensure a proper marketing of Romanian products in foreign markets.

C) The Ministry and Foreign Trade enterprises must do all they can to promptly meet export offers and to ensure the necessary information for participating in international contract bids for products and services that can be delivered or rendered by Romanian enterprises. Negotiations must be prepared and conducted in such a way that they will end with the conclusion of foreign contracts at the most advantageous prices and under payment and trade conditions that are in keeping with the interests, the financial means and production capacity of productive economic units and end users; they must also ensure all the necessary guarantees for protecting the interests of the national economy.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation must act to make known all offers made by foreign partners and international contract bids that are being organized in various countries; it is also responsible for their effective fulfillment within the deadlines established by law. The ministry must make sure that all offers are examined with maximum exactingness and great responsibility regarding the manner in which our country's hard currency is spent.

The ministry must issue regulations that will ensure that each contract and each agreement concluded with foreign partners be thoroughly substantiated and include firm and clear provisions by the contracting sides, that it be formulated with maximum care to ensure the marketing of Romanian products under advantageous conditions and to ensure a high efficiency in foreign trade. Once contracts are concluded, the manufacturing ministries and foreign trade enterprises must check that they reach the enterprises that are to manufacture the given products. The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation

has the duty and responsibility to directly supervise the putting into production upon schedule and the fulfillment of the overall export production and must also see to it that products meet the quality stipulated in contracts.

D) The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the other economic ministries have a duty to thoroughly prepare the delegations engaged in negotiations with foreign partners, and are responsible for both the competence and the behavior of those delegations at the negotiations and for the results they obtain. The members of such delegations must be chosen very carefully; they must be cadres with high political and professional qualifications and with appropriate experience who can negotiate advantageous contracts and agreements, ensuring good returns for Romanian products. Any delegation going abroad on a mission involving foreign trade or international economic cooperation must be given a precise mandate as a basis for their decisions; upon returning, the delegation should report on and account for the way the mission was carried out. The composition of the delegation should be judiciously thought out from the start and should not be subsequently modified, with a view to ensuring stability, consistency and continuity for the mission. It has unfortunately occurred more than once that the composition of delegations was changed in the course of the negotiations; such damaging practices must be resolutely eliminated. The delegation that began the negotiations must remain responsible, with the same membership, for winding them up and signing the contracts, as well as for organizing the necessary steps to have the contract terms honored on schedule by the manufacturing enterprises. This will contribute to enhancing the sense of responsibility of the delegations sent to negotiations, since they will know that after the contracts are signed, they will continue to be responsible for directly dealing with the optimal implementation of the terms agreed upon.

The ministry must ensure strict observance of legal regulations concerning methods of signing contracts and conducting negotiations; it is to be borne in mind that no one may conduct negotiations personally, on his own, and that no one may conduct negotiations personally, on his own, and that no one may sign a contract or agreements without permission. Any violation of the regulations adopted in this respect is to be severely punished, and a person guilty of violating them may even be relieved of his job and brought to trial.

E) The foreign trade enterprises which have concluded contracts with foreign partners have a duty to constantly check how the provisions of those contracts are being implemented in productive enterprises and how the quality specifications of export goods are being observed, and to effectively remedy violation of and disregard for those specifications. It has to be understood most clearly that, along with the actual supplier, foreign trade enterprises bear the entire responsibility for the product quality delivered abroad. Only by strictly observing the provisions of the contract concluded with foreign partners will we be able to maintain and strengthen our positions in foreign markets, only thus will we contribute to constantly increasing our country's prestige and to continuously and lastingly expanding our trade and economic relations. That is why it is necessary for foreign trade representatives to constantly see to it and ensure in good time--even on the technological assembly line--that all export products are of irreproachable quality.

F) The Ministry of Foreign Trade has to act with particular care and responsibility also as regards imports. Each import application must be examined with maximum care in the spirit of the relevant regulations; the ministry should see to it that only those strictly necessary products which we cannot produce in our country should be imported--priority being given to raw materials that cannot be secured from domestic resources--under mutually advantageous conditions and in exchange for Romanian export products. From this viewpoint, the ministry and all those who are active in that sector must view themselves as front rank fighters in the great battle to ensure, in the shortest time possible, the achievement of such a goal and the forceful and constant development of the country's economy as established by the 12th party congress. They must constantly bear in mind that important products are being manufactured with the financial resources of the working class and the people and they must watch with the greatest sense of responsibility that no one wastes the country's hard currency funds in any way through importing qualitatively inappropriate products or products that can be manufactured through the efforts and technological ability of the collectives of workers and specialists in our own country.

G) One of the essential duties of the ministry is to concern itself with great responsibility with training all foreign trade personnel and with improving its professional and political level. The ministry and all foreign trade enterprises must carry out monthly analyses of the work performed by all workers in order to gain precise knowledge of each worker's activity and to adopt, on this basis, appropriate measures. Regular efficient instruction should be ensured on tasks and on the way in which work has to proceed in one or another period of time.

To ensure appropriate cadres for the highly responsible work in this sector, the party's recommendations on improving cadre recruitment and on testing their political and professional capabilities must be strictly applied, so that foreign trade will have only well-qualified and honest personnel devoted to the party and people. Any sign of subjectivism and lack of principledness in recruiting personnel has to be eliminated with the greatest determination.

The central commission that will be organized--with clear regulations for testing and verifying cadres from the point of view of their capability and the trust they inspire--should employ and retain only those cadres in foreign trade with a thorough professional training and who demonstrate irreproachable civic and moral conduct.

H) The ministry must ensure the firm application of the provisions of the law on workers' self-management and self-administration according to which all enterprises in this sector should work on the basis of the principle of self-management and self-administration; the incomes of the foreign trade units, and therefore those of their personnel, too, must especially be derived from export activity. No one in foreign trade will receive any pay if the enterprise in which he works does not ensure the necessary funds from its own activity apart from a profit paid to the state as the law envisages.

I) The party organizations within the ministry and in foreign trade enterprises should take more determined action to improve the ideological and political level of all workers to develop their socialist awareness and cultivate

their patriotism and sense of responsibility toward their fatherland and people. At the same time, they should always exercise party control over how each communist is fulfilling the tasks and duties devolving on him. Watching with communist responsibility over the literal observance of the party's decisions and the country's laws and examining in time and uncompromisingly combating the shortcomings that are obvious, the party organizations and bodies must contribute to constantly ensuring an atmosphere of lofty communist exactingness, of honor and perfect political-moral uprightness, an atmosphere of revolutionary intransigence and of intolerance toward anyone who may try, in one or another form, to embezzle people's property and to weaken our country's wealth. They are dutybound to intensify by all means the ideological-political activity to develop an advanced socialist awareness, to create exactingness and principledness in public opinion and to firmly promote the principles of socialist ethics and equity in our overall activity. The communists must constantly be in the front ranks of the struggle for resolutely fulfilling the tasks set forth by the party in connection with increasing efficiency in our foreign trade. From all points of view, they must set an example of diligent and devoted work, and of great responsibility and greater understanding for the country's and people's interests.

Responsibilities Devolving Upon Workers in Ministries, Centrals and Enterprises for Export

1. [Use of number, instead of letter, as published] Increasing the production earmarked for exports is the key issue of the national economy. Economic ministries and other central economic bodies with responsibilities in this field must attach particular importance to expanding their foreign trade relations and international cooperation ventures; continuously increasing and diversifying the production earmarked for exports; turning out competitive products of a high technical level; and better marketing our products abroad, at appropriate prices, thus contributing to an efficient and mutually advantageous foreign trade activity.

In this respect, it is necessary:

(A) To judiciously allot tasks devolving from the plan of foreign trade and international economic cooperation to industrial centrals and production or service enterprises;

(B) To see to it that all enterprises with export tasks ensure, as the law provides for, the specialization of certain factories, sections or assembly lines, including supply sub-units, for production earmarked for export, thus also ensuring the required technical-material base and manpower;

(C) To closely supervise the concrete conditions in which enterprises are fulfilling the planned production earmarked for export, by taking efficient measures to ensure an appropriate qualitative and technical level capable of making our products more competitive on the foreign market.

2. Industrial centrals and production enterprises are duty-bound to responsibly ensure that the export production is attained on time and at an appropriate qualitative level; they are responsible for the technical level of production and for efficiently adapting it to foreign market requirements.

The fast renewal of production in step with the requirements of contemporary scientific-technical progress and on the basis of better utilizing raw and other materials, fuel, energy and manpower as well as raising its qualitative and technical level—these things must be a permanent concern of collective management bodies in centrals and enterprises. This is a prerequisite for efficient foreign trade, for developing and diversifying foreign economic relations and for ensuring our country's active participation in the international division of labor.

3. A decisive element of turning out export products at a high competitive level is the responsible way in which the working people work to fulfill their honorable duties as direct creators of these products. The quality of the work and responsibility of each worker, engineer, technician and expert, as the decisive factor for the quality of products earmarked for export, is a high honor and responsibility to work for export and to turn out products, equipment and installations which can compete, by their quality and technical performance, with the best products at the international level. The products earmarked for export carry the duty mark of our country and they must always be a sign of our people's diligence, competence and creative talent. Each worker, technician and expert employed in the production earmarked for export must conscientiously carry out his duty both regarding the work and timely delivery of export products and the irreproachable qualitative level of these products. These people must never turn out poor products that run counter to export production and harm their good name as workers and experts as well as the prestige of our economy. The delivery of export products on time and at a high qualitative level must constitute for each working man a proof of his high productivity and his pride for the ever greater prestige enjoyed today by Leningrad throughout the world.

Thus, each foreign trade worker must show and have the right to work

4. Workers in the foreign trade field must arrive through actual work and the results of their daily work that they fully understand the people's concerns and that people love the Leningrader. They must show their responsibility toward the country and people in the effective management they carry out, by supervising the fulfillment of contracts, by care for and should with properly administering the country's interests; and through the devotion with which they defend and increase the results of the creative efforts of our workers and our socialist nation. Honesty, principledness and correctness in work (collectivists and workers) are cannot possibly work in this field.

5. Workers in the foreign trade field must be characterized by high responsibility, spend properly utilizing the assets entrusted to him, be enterprising and capable of initiative, and to them discipline in observing external laws and rules. They must always remember that he does not work for this world with his own interests or with goods belonging to nobody, on the contrary, he must serve

forget that he deals with important parts of the people's wealth, which required work and resources belonging to the entire society.

Each foreign trade worker must be aware of the fact that he occupies a prestigious and highly responsible position in our society; but he must never forget that he owes it all to the people, fatherland and party who shaped and educated him and gave him a chance to carry out outstanding, highly appreciated and responsible work in our society. Knowing that the party and people have put their trust in them, the foreign trade workers must always act as true sons of the fatherland, devoted to unswervingly serving the country. In all their activity they must not try to satisfy certain narrow interests or gain some personal advantage; they must defend and promote the overall interests of our country and socialist society. Throughout their work they must be guided by the people's interests, by the need to efficiently develop advantageous foreign trade and by the goal of strengthening and increasing, in this way, too, Romania's prestige in the world.

2. Each foreign trade workers must have a thorough overall and specialized training and must be familiar with the goals of our party-state economic policy and the concrete tasks set for our foreign trade at a given time. He must properly know and understand the immediate and future requirements of the national economy as well as its possibilities, surplus assets, and requirements.

While properly mastering the foreign trade law and the norms and provisions governing the activity in this field, each foreign trade worker must also know and be able to correctly understand the ever more complex problems emerging in the practice of international economic life as well as the concrete trends and requirements of world trade, so as to be able to conclude clear and thoroughly substantiated contracts and to have success both in better utilizing the export products of our national economy and in importing what we need at ever more advantageous prices.

People employed in the foreign trade sector are obligated to inquire about and obtain information on foreign partners, particularly concerning their solvency, ability to pay and credit rating, as well as any other information that may be of interest, in order to guard against signing contracts with intermediary, compromised, insolvent and bankrupt firms, or firms that do not provide sufficient guarantees for the execution of the contracts.

One cannot talk about important and less important tasks in foreign trade. All tasks must be viewed as very important; all must be carried out in exemplary fashion and this requires from all those active in this field, aside from a high degree of competence, also thorough professional and political training, high training, high discipline and responsibility, enthusiasm, devotion, patriotic spirit and self-denial in serving the country's interests.

A representative of a foreign trade enterprise must sit down to negotiate with foreign partners not as an insignificant clerk or as some small merchant. He must remember that for that moment and for that particular matter he is the representative of the Romanian economy, and as such he has a duty to resolutely safeguard and promote the interests of Romania's socialist economy and he must

use convincing arguments for this purpose. Proud of representing a free and dignified nation, he must adopt dignified behavior in his relations with foreign partners. Any lack of confidence or unease caused by the possible reputation of the foreign partner, not to mention servility or subservience to Western values, are incompatible with the status of a representative of our foreign trade bodies.

3. Every foreign trade worker must always be aware of and observe the provisions of the law on protecting state secrets. On being employed in this field, each worker must be thoroughly trained concerning the specific nature and responsibilities inherent in this job and must be made aware of the importance of signing and observing the pledge to strictly keep state secrets.

Everybody must understand that import and export activities involve trade and state secrets. Therefore, one should enhance vigilance against direct or indirect divulgence of secret data; one should resolutely combat such habits as chatting and boasting as well as any violation of rules governing the keeping and handling of secret documents.

It is a fact that in this period of sharpening political and economic confrontation, under conditions of the aggravation of the world crisis, economic and trade espionage is spreading particularly and is being diversified. One could say that a real battle for economic information is under way, with every effort being made to find out the trade and technical secrets of other sides, in order to gain unilateral advantages, such as buying more cheaply and selling more expensively. Failure to observe trade and state secrets may seriously harm the country and people as well as our economic and trade ventures abroad.

4. By the nature of their work and in the line of their duties, foreign trade workers--whether working at home or on permanent or temporary missions abroad--have access to data and information that constitute state secrets, particularly economic secrets, and guarding such secrets is decisive for the results of foreign trade transactions. At the same time, they continuously come into contact with various representatives of business partners and with many foreigners who have a vested interest in finding out data and information of a secret nature on the Romanian side. Often, agents of foreign espionage or counterespionage services assume the cover of commercial representatives to obtain information about our country--and about foreign trade affairs--which is then used to place the Romanian side at a disadvantage, or even to compromise our country's interests and reputation.

To defend Romania's import-export ventures and to prevent Romanian citizens active in the foreign trade activity from committing acts capable of harming our state's interests and reputation, all foreign trade workers must meet certain requirements and observe a number of specific rules.

(A) They must thoroughly know the laws of the socialist Republic of Romania on establishing contact with foreigners as well as the norms governing foreign trade activity in this respect;

(B) They must always keep secret state data and information in order to prevent their utilization by foreign partners to the detriment of the Romanian state;

(C) In broaching issues during negotiations with foreign partners, they must strictly observe their mandate, in order to protect our trade secrets and to prevent the leakage of information that could be exploited by foreign partners to the detriment of the Romanian side.

5. Behaving with dignity and responsibility for the sake of the country's reputation, foreign trade employees must resolutely reject any attempt to bribe or corrupt them, under no circumstances can they accept money or cash deposits into personal accounts abroad, gifts or any other material gains offered by foreign firms or persons with whom they come into contact during missions abroad or during the latter's visits to our country. They will thus avoid being exposed to corruption and blackmail or being swept into committing acts contrary to the interests of our state.

In all their actions, both at home and abroad, foreign trade employees must show exemplary behavior, determination and faultless political judgment. They must be vigilant, they must spot and reject any attempt by espionage or counter-espionage services and by foreign reactionary circles and organizations to incite them to treason, to undermine our national economy, or to other crimes.

All foreign trade employees must be aware of the fact that violations of legal regulations on relations with foreigners and on behavior in the course of discharging foreign trade duties will incur disciplinary, material, civil, conventional or penal punishment, according to the case. Such violations will be sanctioned as acts against the interests of the fatherland and as acts undermining our people's struggle for progress and for a better life.

The current and future tasks in foreign trade make it necessary for all those active in that sector to exercise particular responsibility for the proper management and administration of our people's socialist property and show a sense of firm order and discipline in applying the state's laws and all norms and decisions that regulate our foreign economic relations.

Party organizations, management councils of the ministry and of centrals and working people's councils must make sure that people are thoroughly familiar with the laws and regulations concerning foreign trade and with the duties and obligations concerning foreign trade and with the duties and obligations of foreign trade employees, so that each person active in this area should know exactly what his responsibilities are, what society expects of him and how he should act, and should be thoroughly prepared, from all viewpoints, for the missions entrusted to him. In the future, no one will be permitted to use as an "excuse" for mistakes and actions contrary to the people's interests the fact that he was unaware of those regulations, did not know what to do in a certain situation, or did not know what his obligations and responsibilities were as a foreign trade employee.

By preservingly acting to radically improve the activity in that sector, by uniting their forces and engaging with great determination in rapidly eliminating inappropriate states of affairs to ensure that the party's targets are implemented under favorable conditions and with maximum efficiency, foreign trade employees will thus honor the trust put in them by our society and all our people. Thus they will truly do their duty as builders of socialism, patriots and aware and devote citizens of our socialist fatherland.

LEADERS GREET VIETNAMESE COUNTERPARTS

AU061643 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Le Duan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party [VCP]; Comrade Truong Chinh, chairman of the state council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV]; Comrade Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; and Comrade Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly, Hanoi

On the 37th anniversary of the SRV's National Day, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the state council, the grand national assembly and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people and on our own behalf, we want to extend warmest congratulations to you, the VCP Central Committee, state council, national assembly and government of the SRV and to the Vietnamese people.

The Romanian people, who have granted multifaceted support to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against colonialism and imperialism and for national and social liberation and for the fatherland's reunification, appreciate the results achieved by the Vietnamese people under VCP leadership in the country's socialist construction, in the rebuilding of the economy, in the development of science, culture and education and in the improvement of the working people's living standard.

We are convinced that the Romanian-Vietnamese relations of friendship and co-operation, based on the principles agreed upon at summit level, will constantly develop in the spirit of mutual respect and for the benefit and in the interests of our peoples, the general cause of socialism, independence, peace and international cooperation.

On this great holiday, we wish you and the fraternal Vietnamese people increasingly greater successes in implementing the Fifth VCP Congress decisions and in the fatherland's multifaceted development on the road of progress and prosperity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and Nicolae Glosan, chairman of the grand national assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700/347

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU GREETES AL-QADHDHAFI ON NATIONAL DAY

AU061638 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] To his excellency Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great 1 September Revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Tripoli.

On the 13th anniversary of Revolution Day, I take pleasure in extending most sincere congratulations and wishes for good health and personal happiness to you and wishes for successes to the friendly Libyan people on their road of progress and well-being.

I want to take this opportunity to express the conviction that, on the basis of the talks and understandings agreed upon in Bucharest, the relations of friendship and multifaceted cooperation between our countries will continue to develop and deepen in the interests of the Romanian and Libyan peoples and the cause of peace, national independence and security in the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

CSO: 2700/347

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES MINING CADRES MEETING 2 SEPTEMBER

AU061738 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Sep 82 p 2

[Report on speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 2 September meeting with mining cadres in Lupeni on the occasion of his working visit to Hunedoara County]

[Text] The party secretary general stressed that the meeting had been organized with the knowledge of the great and complex tasks devolving on miners under the extraction program up to 1935, which calls for the extraction of more than 15 million tons of coal, 5 million tons of which will be coking coal, a production that can be completely achieved if one takes into account the material-technical resources available to the mining industry at this point. In connection with lags recorded ever since the beginning of the current year, our party and state leader expressed his conviction that this coal lag will be made up for.

Referring to the problems raised during the discussions, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specified that in the Jiu Valley there is still an inequitable relationship between the number of workers directly active in the coal extraction process and the rest of the working personnel. He recommended that measures be taken as soon as possible to correct this and that further measures be taken to simplify the organizational framework of labor and the production process by proceeding from the work unit and from the equipment used in stopes. Within this framework the party secretary general made lengthy reference to the problem of transportation in mines, assessing it as one of the essential aspects of mechanizing labor in the pits. Therefore, he recommended that a collective--subordinated to the council of ministers--be set up by specialists of research institutes, the ministries of mines, machine-building and metallurgy in order to draw up by the end of October a program on completely mechanizing mines--cutting mine waste, transporting coal to the surface, transporting workers and materials in the mine.

To avoid disruptions in the operation of combines and the other machinery in the pits, which have a negative bearing on the plan fulfillment, the speaker recommended that each unit should have its own stocks of spare parts available and that small spare parts should be stored in the mine itself. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then specified that for that reason the minister in charge of equipment production must develop his spare-part producing capacity and

must see to it that spare parts are manufactured for all types of equipment being manufactured. To acquire a more thorough knowledge about the concrete problems of labor mechanization in mines and how the equipment that is being produced is operating, the machine-builders and metallurgists must more often spend some time among the miners, must closely cooperate with them when manufacturing machines, spare parts and other materials, so that they will best meet the real needs and the specific labor conditions in mines.

Stressing that our industry has everything necessary available to ensure the complete mechanization of coal extraction, the party secretary pointed out that it is necessary to take firm measures to train the right number of miners in keeping with the level of knowledge required by the advanced technology that is now being used in our coal mining industry. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specified that we now need a miner who is able to lead a combine, who knows how to maintain it and to perform the necessary repairs. Proceeding from this, the speaker demanded that the curriculum of specialized schools and institutes be urgently revised and that in the next 2 months a program be worked out on improving the training of workers and specialists for the extractive industry in keeping with its current tasks and requirements. At the same time, it is necessary to make rational and more economical use of existing cadres in each mine by taking care each day that the working personnel in underground mines is complete; any absentee workers in mines must be automatically replaced by personnel working on the surface.

The party secretary general then stressed that the program on increasing coal extraction, both coal for energy purposes and especially coking coal, includes particular tasks for the ministries of mines, geology, machine-building and metallurgy and for scientific research. He also pointed out that the council of ministers must firmly pursue the fulfillment of these tasks. The speaker emphasized that the complete fulfillment of that program requires particular responsibilities on the part of the management in mining enterprises, the party organizations and bodies and for each working man in that particularly important sector of our national economy.

In conclusion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his firm conviction that the miners--a front-ranking detachment of our workers class who are esteemed and appreciated by all our people--will completely fulfill their duty, thus contributing to ensuring the country's energy self-sufficiency and to the progress of our overall national economy.

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